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Committee on Un-American Activities

House

87th Congress

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COMMUNIST AND TROTSKYIST ACTIVITY
WITHIN THE GREATER LOS ANGELES
CHAPTER OF THE FAIR PLAY
FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

R E P O R T

AND

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT J. LEWIS AND
STEVE ROBERTS

(APRIL 26 AND 27, 1962)

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION



INCLUDING INDEX

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(This is the second of a series of reports based, in whole or in part, on executive hearings held by the committee in Los Angeles April 24-27, 1962. The other reports will be published in the near future.)

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q)(1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 87TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 3, 1961

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

- (r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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- (a) Un-American activities.

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* * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

COMMUNIST AND TROTSKYIST ACTIVITY WITHIN THE GREATER LOS ANGELES CHAPTER OF THE FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

REPORT

Recent committee investigations and hearings in the Los Angeles, California, area have disclosed a significant increase in the power and influence of a revolutionary Communist organization which both competes and cooperates with the Communist Party, USA.

This is the Socialist Workers Party, largest and oldest Trotskyist organization in the United States. So-called Trotskyist groups vow allegiance to the principles of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as interpreted by the famous Russian revolutionist, Leon Trotsky. The Socialist Workers Party agrees with the Communist Party, USA, that the Soviet Union should be "defended" from "imperialist," capitalist "aggressors" such as the United States. The Socialist Workers Party likewise looks forward to the eventual imposition of a world Communist system.

On the means for achieving total Communist victory, however, the Socialist Workers Party takes sharp issue with the Communist Party. The Communist Party of the United States, in the Trotskyist view, is "incapable of revolutionary action." The blame for this is placed upon Soviet dictators Joseph Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev, whose policies, Trotskyists claim, have "scuttled" Lenin's concept of a "revolutionary road to power."¹

In spite of the arguments between Trotskyists and "orthodox" Communists over the degree of their revolutionary fervor, national leaders of both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have been tried, convicted, and imprisoned for violating the Smith Act by advocating violent overthrow of our form of government.²

Trotskyists gained considerable attention in the 1930's by their success in infiltrating and controlling various union locals and organizations for the unemployed, and by their leadership of a teamsters' strike in Minneapolis in 1934. After the conviction of Socialist Workers Party leaders under the Smith Act in the early 1940's, the organization continued to function through small nuclei in large cities.³

In no period does it appear that Trotskyist organizations ever attained the size and influence of their arch rival—the official, Stalin-led Communist Party, USA. However, various developments in

¹ See *International Socialist Review*, Socialist Workers Party theoretical organ, Fall 1960, p. 108.

² Eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, during the years 1941-1943, were tried, convicted, and imprisoned for violating Smith Act prohibitions against advocating insubordination in the Armed Forces and conspiracy to advocate forceful overthrow of the United States Government. In 1949, 11 national officers of the Communist Party were convicted under the Smith Act of conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the United States Government; they also subsequently served prison sentences.

³ *Socialism and American Life*, eds: Donald Egbert and Stow Persons (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), vol. II.

the international Communist movement, beginning with the death of Stalin in 1953, have proved advantageous to the ultra-revolutionary Trotskyists. The Socialist Workers Party has publicly boasted of a growing membership, as well as expanding agitation and propaganda activities. Evidence received in the course of committee investigations and hearings in the Los Angeles area leads to the disquieting conclusion that the covert activities of the Socialist Workers Party have become increasingly effective in recent years.

Socialist Workers Party members infiltrated a southern California industrial plant which has classified defense contracts, and last year captured key offices in the trade union which holds bargaining rights for the plant's employees. Further elaboration is deferred until the completion of additional committee investigations into this critical aspect of Trotskyist activity.

Socialist Workers Party members were the concealed masterminds behind a new front organization which emerged in Los Angeles early in 1961. The Trotskyist front is known as the Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

This report presents the results of committee investigation into Trotskyist activity behind the facade of the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Concurrently released and printed herewith is pertinent testimony received by a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, sitting in executive session in Los Angeles on April 26 and 27, 1962.

This committee is of the opinion that preeminent problems created by the operations of the Moscow-backed Communist Party on American soil should not blind the Congress to the subversive potentials of smaller, dissident Communist groups having the common objective of supplanting our constitutional government with a Soviet-style dictatorship. As the record will show, the improved fortunes of the revolutionary Trotskyists are in great measure attributable to witting and unwitting assistance from their traditional rival, the Communist Party, USA.

THE FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE (FPCC)

A national Fair Play for Cuba Committee made what it termed its "public debut" on April 6, 1960, with the appearance of a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times*, announcing that the organization would provide Americans with "the truth about revolutionary Cuba." The committee's advertisement charged that the "profound social and economic revolution" in progress in Cuba was being misrepresented by various United States news media. The Fair Play organization quoted an alleged declaration by Cuban revolutionary leader Fidel Castro that: "Our Revolution is *not* Communist but *humanist*." The organization insisted in its initial statement that only those "who equate Communism with all forces that threaten the status quo of property interests will find the Cuban Revolution 'Communistic.'"

It has been said that Fidel Castro established a Communist-style state in Cuba in less time than it took the Bolsheviks in Soviet Russia.⁴

After Castro seized power in Cuba in January 1959, he failed to implement his many earlier promises to institute a government based on free elections and constitutional and democratic procedures. He

⁴ Theodore Draper *Castro's Revolution, Myths and Realities* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 90.

maintained a system of personal, autocratic rule, marked by increasing collaboration with, and reliance upon, the Cuban Communist Party and gradual elimination of the influence of Cubans who had assisted in the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship but who were adverse to any transfer of power to adherents of Soviet-style dictatorship. While Castro was referring to the Cuban revolution as non-Communist or humanist and making occasional derogatory references to Communists during the first half of 1959, Communists were being installed without fanfare in key posts in the Cuban Army and secret police. By the end of the year, a noted leader of Castro's rebel army was imprisoned for "treason" because he had protested Communist encroachments in the army and local government posts.⁵

The New York-based national Fair Play for Cuba Committee commenced agitation in behalf of Castro despite the fact that "with increasing momentum in 1960, Communists [in Cuba] * * * took over government department after department, factory after factory * * *," and the steadily mounting exodus of refugees from Cuba began to include many who had occupied high political or military office in the early days of the Castro regime.⁶

Fidel Castro himself has since openly proclaimed Cuba to be a "Socialist state" (May 1961). He has also announced that he is a "Marxist-Leninist" who is convinced "The world is on the road toward communism" (December 1961). At the same time, he made clear his intent to accept the Soviet Union as a model in building a one-party Communist dictatorship in Cuba. The U.S. Government had also officially warned, by April 1961, that members of the Cuban Communist Party and those responsive to its influence "dominate the government of Cuba, the commissions of economic planning, the labor front, the press, the educational system, and all the agencies of national power." Internationally, Cuba became a member of the Soviet bloc of nations, which involved not only Cuban economic dependence on Communist countries, but also important military, political, and cultural relationships.⁷

By May of 1961, when Cuban Communists were in unquestioned dominance in Cuban national life and the country was closely allied with the Soviet bloc, the acting executive secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee claimed that his organization had at least 23 local chapters for adults and 37 "student" or college campus chapters scattered throughout the United States, with a total membership of approximately 7,000.

The committee is not here concerned with the motives, activities, or objectives of the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee beyond certain publicly recorded facts believed essential to any discussion of the Los Angeles chapter of the organization. Nor can the brief allusions to the Cuban situation in this report adequately reflect the complex and multifaceted Cuban journey toward communism.

Officials of the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) have been interrogated by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in a series of hearings which began April 29,

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-68, 160.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 67, 61.

⁷ *Washington Evening Star*, December 2, 1961, pp. A1, 2; *New York Times*, December 3, 1961, pp. 1, 4; and Text of U.S. State Department document on Cuba, April 3, 1961, printed in *New York Times*, April 4, 1961, pp. 14, 15.

1960. Although they have refused to disclose Fair Play for Cuba Committee members and financial contributors, the national officials have insisted that they and their organization have no connection with the Communist Party, USA. The Senate subcommittee's inquiry into the organization's relationship with the Castro government in Cuba and the good faith of the organization in refusing to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act produced contradictory testimony from Fair Play for Cuba Committee organizers.

Robert Taber, a founder and the first executive secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, testified before the Senate subcommittee on May 5, 1960, that neither he nor the organization he headed had ever received funds, directly or indirectly, from the Cuban Government. On January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos Buch, a Cuban resident of New York City, appeared before the same Senate subcommittee and identified himself as one of the organizers of FPCC who had subsequently become disillusioned with the Castro regime during a visit to Cuba. He testified that he and Robert Taber in April of 1960 had obtained \$3,500 from Raulito Roa, a member of the Cuban mission to the United Nations—a sum which was used to defray most of the expense of the newspaper advertisement heralding the formation of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.⁸

Richard Gibson, president of the New York chapter of FPCC from the time of its chartering in September 1960, has been "acting" executive secretary of the national organization since January 1961. Like Taber, Gibson has disavowed any affiliation with the Communist Party, USA.

The FPCC publication, *Fair Play*, for October 7, 1960, announced that both adult chapters and college campus chapters must be "chartered" by the national organization and that all membership applications and dues payments have to be submitted directly to national headquarters in New York. Individuals granted membership by the national FPCC are then "automatically" entitled to participate in chapter activities in their locality. In response to a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee request for a list of FPCC chapters, Richard Gibson on May 16, 1961, supplied an admittedly incomplete list compiled by himself and Miss Berta Green, salaried secretary in the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee office. Mr. Gibson testified that he had no "firsthand knowledge" of most of the 23 adult and 37 student chapters on the list and kept no separate records on chapters and their officers. He insisted that he very rarely had any reason to get in touch with local Fair Play for Cuba Committee officials, most of whom he had never met.

One of the nine adult chapters about which Mr. Gibson admitted having personal knowledge was the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, P. O. Box 26251, Los Angeles, California. He also identified Steve

⁸ "Fair Play for Cuba," Pts. I and II, Hearings before Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which includes executive testimony taken on April 29, May 5, and October 10, 1960, made public on February 27, 1961, and testimony in public sessions on January 10, April 25, and May 16, 1961.

In December 1960, Robert Taber went to Cuba, where he remained for approximately a year. He denied the allegations of Dr. Santos Buch in an article published in the FPCC publication, *Fair Play*, on February 4, 1961. He returned to the United States in the spring of 1962 and reappeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on April 10, 1962; the testimony has not been made public.

Prior to Taber's return to the United States, the FPCC announced on February 21, 1962, that his resignation as national executive secretary had been accepted. The FPCC declared that Taber had been persuaded to delay a resignation originally proffered in a letter from Havana in January 1961. Taber attributed his departure from FPCC to personal problems and professional commitments, involving no loss of sympathy for the "noble purpose of FPCC." (*The Militant*, Mar. 5, 1962, p. 2.)

Roberts as the organization's West Coast representative and said his "expenses" were reimbursed by the New York headquarters.

GREATER LOS ANGELES CHAPTER OF THE FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee made its public bow in January 1961, with the issuance of a statement opposing the breakoff of United States diplomatic relations with Cuba on the first day of that year and calling upon the incoming Kennedy administration to reestablish "the traditionally friendly relations between the U.S. and Cuba." The statement was adopted unanimously at a meeting of "over 125 members" of the Greater Los Angeles Chapter on January 6, 1961, a news release from the organization declared.⁹

The chapter held its first public meeting in Los Angeles on January 22, 1961, and on the following day opened an account at a Compton, California, bank with an initial deposit of \$721.75.

The first news release of the Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, hereinafter referred to as LAFPCC, listed the following chapter officers:

Chairman, Martin Hall; honorary cochairman, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman; executive secretary, Dr. A. J. Lewis; recording secretary, Gabriela Huesca; treasurer, George Davis. Also named in the news release, as a signer of the initial LAFPCC statement, was Steve Roberts, "West Coast Representative of the National Fair Play for Cuba Committee."

The letterheads used by the LAFPCC during 1961 and 1962 carried the names of the following "executive committee" members, in addition to the chapter officers identified above: Leo Frumpkin, Rosalie Rodriguez, and Del Varela.¹⁰

Dr. A. J. (Albert Jorgenson) Lewis and Steve Roberts^{10a} had, in fact, been active in the area in behalf of the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee since at least November 1960. The national FPCC publication, *Fair Play*, of November 15, 1960, announced that applications were being accepted for a low-cost, 11-day tour of Cuba under FPCC auspices beginning December 23, 1960:

Local F-P [Fair Play] and Student Council chapters across the country are planning special bus or plane charters to Miami and New York. * * * it is expected that West Coast residents will be able to go to Havana via Mexico * * *.

Individuals seeking information regarding such special arrangements were advised to contact certain persons in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, and Cleveland. Steve Roberts was named as the Los Angeles contact. A statement to the press on the scope of FPCC activity as of November 1960, identified Dr. A. J. Lewis as "temporary chairman" of a Los Angeles chapter.¹¹

⁹ See App. p. 1569, Lewis Exhibit No. 1.

¹⁰ See App. p. 1571, Lewis Exhibit No. 2.

^{10a} Photographs of A. J. Lewis and Steve Roberts appear on pp. 1520-1521, respectively.

¹¹ This summary of FPCC activities, provided by Mrs. Berta Green, appeared in the *New York Times* of November 20, 1960, p. 37-L; the article was reproduced and distributed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Mrs. Green was identified in the article as the secretary of the New York chapter of FPCC "who is currently running the organization's office."

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 6



Albert J. Lewis and Leo Gallagher, Fair Play for Cuba Committee Demonstration, April 22, 1961.

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 10



Steve Roberts and William Hathaway,¹ Fair Play for Cuba Committee Demonstration, April 19, 1961.

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 13



Rose Chernin Kusnitz and Martin Hall, Fair Play for Cuba Committee Demonstration, April 19, 1961.

¹ Staff investigation shows that William Hathaway is a member of the Socialist Workers Party who was a candidate for the Los Angeles Board of Education on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in local elections held April 4, 1961.

TROTSKYIST CONTROL OF LOS ANGELES FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

Members of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party dominated the Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee from its inception.

Dr. A. J. Lewis, who directed the activities of the organization by virtue of his key position as executive secretary, concurrently held membership in the Socialist Workers Party, committee investigation has disclosed. Born July 17, 1917, in Los Angeles, Dr. Lewis studied at Tufts Theological College, Riverside College, Starr-King School for the Ministry, and the University of Paris. He holds a doctorate from the last-named institution. Dr. Lewis has been employed at various times as a teacher, Government worker, salesman, and personnel supervisor. He is presently a self-employed family relations counsel in Los Angeles.

Dr. Lewis boasted during a public lecture in Los Angeles on September 22, 1961, that he "became a journalist" for the purpose of obtaining a passport to visit Cuba. He made a trip to Cuba in August 1961, he declared, as a representative of the *Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch*. Since January 19, 1961, the U.S. Government has banned travel to Cuba by American citizens, with the exception of newsmen and a few other categories. In introductory remarks at the Lewis lecture, LAFPCC Chairman Martin Hall made much of the fact that the family relations counsel, by becoming a newspaperman, had forced the State Department to issue him a passport.

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities interrogated Dr. Lewis in executive session in Los Angeles on April 26, 1962. He invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions relating to the LAFPCC and the participation therein of members of the Socialist Workers Party or the Communist Party. He similarly refused to affirm or deny committee evidence of his own membership in the Socialist Workers Party.¹²

Steve Roberts, the national FPCC's official "West Coast Representative," played a prominent role in LAFPCC meetings and mass demonstrations held in 1961 and 1962. Committee investigation reveals that Steve Roberts has also been a leader in the local Socialist Workers Party for many years.

In 1960—the year in which he was designated by the national FPCC as the "contact" for FPCC information in Los Angeles—Steve Roberts served as California State campaign manager for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. In 1946, Steve Roberts was himself the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of the State of California.¹³ The committee has also learned that Mr. Roberts, as of 1956, was a member of the Executive Committee and the Trade Union Committee of the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Mr. Roberts was born in New York City in 1898 but has resided in Los Angeles since 1934. A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, sitting in executive session in Los Angeles, questioned Mr. Roberts on April 27, 1962. Invoking his privileges

¹² The committee authorized the testimony of Dr. Lewis to be made public and printed with this report. See pp. 1543-1559.

¹³ See app. p. 1579, Roberts Exhibit No. 1.

under the fifth amendment, he refused to respond to all questions regarding his participation in activities of the Socialist Workers Party and the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee.¹⁴

Theodore Edwards, publicized as one of the "sponsors" of the LAFPCC on its official letterheads, is the acknowledged Southern California chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. The *National Guardian* of August 7, 1961, so identified Mr. Edwards in publicity regarding his scheduled debate on August 19, 1961, with former Communist Party leader Earl Browder on the subject, "America's Road to Socialism—Revolution or Reform." The *Militant*, weekly organ of the Socialist Workers Party published in New York, identified Mr. Edwards as the party's Southern California chairman in its issue dated April 30, 1962 (p. 2). Theodore Edwards has also taught at the West Coast Vacation School, which is held annually during Labor Day week in resort areas in the vicinity of Los Angeles and offers a combination of instruction and recreation under the guidance of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party.¹⁵

Ann Snipper served as office secretary for Dr. A. J. Lewis in his capacity as executive secretary of LAFPCC. She was also authorized to collect mail addressed to Post Office Box 26251, which belonged to the Los Angeles Fair Play organization. Letters sent out by the West Coast Vacation School regarding its sessions for 1957 and 1959 were signed by "Ann Snipper, Director."

"Nationally renowned speakers will present Marxist analyses of national and world problems," Ann Snipper promised in her letter advertising the 1957 program of the Trotskyist school.¹⁶ Her letter regarding the 1959 program listed many prominent Trotskyists as lecturers, including James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. In the late 1940's, Mrs. Snipper had been active in support of the Independent Progressive Party and the Civil Rights Congress, cited as Communist Party fronts by official Government agencies.

PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES OF THE LAFPCC

Following the issuance of its initial press release, along with a series of telegrams to public officials, the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee began exploiting every available medium for attracting public attention. LAFPCC staged public meetings featuring "prominent" speakers; distributed leaflets and other literature printed by the local chapter or the national office; and provided speakers, often equipped with slides or movies on Cuba, for any interested community organization or group of citizens willing to hold a meeting in a private home. An integral part of the LAFPCC's public activities was the solicitation of funds. Admission fees and donations were justified by the organization as necessary to help spread the "truth" about Cuba, but collections also often had the alleged humanitarian purpose of providing medicines for the Cuban people or "needed" Christmas gifts to Cuban children.

¹⁴ The testimony of Steve Roberts, which the committee has ordered released and printed with this report appears on pp. 1561-1568.

¹⁵ Bulletins issued by the West Coast Vacation School on its 1959 and 1960 sessions listed Theodore Edwards as a member of the teaching staff. The *Militant*, official publication of the SWP, acknowledged in its issue of Feb. 12, 1962 (p. 4), that "the Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party * * * organizes the annual vacation school."

¹⁶ See app. p. 1578, Lewis Exhibit No. 29.

The Trotskyist-controlled organization obtained most publicity, however, as a result of its frequent resort to public demonstrations. Members and supporters of the LAFPCC, carrying picket signs, would march for hours in front of some public building in downtown Los Angeles. Their signs carried messages such as: "Hands off Cuba," "Cuba Si, U.S. Imperialists, No!" and "End Yanqui Fascism." Chanting pickets also invariably utilized such demonstrations to distribute the organization's printed literature.

One such picketing demonstration was held on February 25, 1961, in front of the U.S. State Department's passport offices in Los Angeles. The pickets, on this occasion, were protesting the Government's recent general ban on American travel to Cuba and took advantage of the occasion to distribute handbills advertising an LAFPCC mass rally on March 4.

Although the LAFPCC constantly asserted its dedication to telling the "truth" about Cuba, its pro-Castro bias was unmistakable. Speakers at LAFPCC affairs were so effusive in their praise of the Castro regime and so vitriolic in their opposition to United States Government policies with respect to Cuba that their propagandist function was immediately apparent.

At the LAFPCC rally of March 4, 1961, a reported audience of 1,000 persons heard speakers eulogize Fidel Castro as "a magnificent personage, one of the great leaders of the world of all times." Extravagant claims were made regarding the elimination of poverty, illiteracy, and discrimination in Cuba under the Castro regime. United States foreign policy toward Cuba, on the other hand, was completely misrepresented as being motivated by an imperialist effort to regain American-owned enterprises confiscated by Castro. Questions from members of the audience regarding Communist dominance in Cuban national life were consistently evaded by the speakers. Soviet economic and military relationships with Cuba were described as humanitarian gestures involving no loss of independence for Cuba. "Every time people try to bring themselves out of misery and poverty, the Russians have given them a helping hand," the assembly was informed by one speaker who also quite seriously insisted that, since the Cuban people were freer than they had ever been, elections in Cuba would be a "foolish waste of time."

A resolution addressed to President Kennedy and Secretary of State Rusk, read to the mass meeting by LAFPCC Executive Secretary Lewis, was adopted by voice vote. The resolution proclaimed that "A mass meeting of citizens assembled on March 4, 1961, at the Embassy Auditorium for a meeting of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee" urged reestablishment of normal diplomatic relations with Cuba; lifting of the travel ban for American citizens, as well as the U.S. embargo; and an end to any support for a Cuban "counter-revolution." The LAFPCC statement also asserted:

Only on the basis of these steps and by true recognition of the sovereignty of the true Cuban Government and the rights of its people to decide their own destiny without interference from any outside power, can peaceful negotiations be started to iron out the many difficulties that exist between our country and the Republic of Cuba.

Speeches of the dynamic executive secretary of LAFPCC demonstrated the same propaganda technique. A lengthy and exaggerated account of so-called "social" improvements in Cuba under Castro, coupled with denunciation of American policy as an effort to enslave and impoverish the Cuban people, was the standard line of Dr. A. J. Lewis. In his aforementioned lecture on September 22, 1961, following his brief visit to Cuba, Dr. Lewis talked, for example, of "the most beautiful social changes eyes have ever seen," of a "fine type of democracy" in Cuba, which "dirty American bankers" sought to "destroy" and which was nevertheless surviving with the help of Soviet-bloc countries. When pressed by someone in his audience to discuss the role of Communists in Cuba, Dr. Lewis asserted he knew of no high offices held by Communists, although they were in minor posts because they had "helped" in the revolution.

Such statements could not be interpreted as anything but an attempt to hoodwink the public, inasmuch as by that date Castro himself had publicly announced his commitment to the idea of a one-party state; preliminary organizational work for the future "United Party of the Socialist Revolution" in Cuba was being led by members of the Cuban Communist Party; and a Cuban official had openly declared the new party would be "built on Marxist-Leninist principles," including Lenin's organizational principle of "democratic centralism." [Communist parties which exercise supreme, dictatorial authority in Soviet-bloc nations also state adherence to these principles.] As for the Cuban economy, in the course of efforts to build a collective society in Cuba, serious problems had already arisen, including severe shortages in essential foods and goods. These were publicly admitted by Cuban officials, who, even while shifting a large share of the blame to the United States embargo, conceded their own errors had played a role in Cuba's mounting economic difficulties.¹⁷

THE ROLE OF ORTHODOX COMMUNISTS IN LAFPCC

LAFPCC propaganda misinforming the public on the complex Cuban situation and the organization's accompanying agitation for a "hands off" foreign policy toward Cuba were greatly intensified following the unsuccessful Cuban invasion of April 1961. In their effort to generate public sentiment against U.S. foreign policy, the Trotskyists running the LAFPCC had the benefit of energetic support from the much more powerful Communist Party.

Delfino (Del) Varela represented the Southern California District of the Communist Party, USA, on the executive committee of LAFPCC. According to the committee's investigation, he served on the Mexican Commission for that Communist Party district. Born in New Mexico in 1926, Mr. Varela became a resident of Los Angeles in 1955. His work for the Communist Party has centered around Americans of Mexican extraction in Los Angeles. On February 25, 1959, when he was interrogated at hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities, committee investigation showed he was an active member of the Zapata Section of the Southern California District of the Communist Party. Mr. Varela invoked the fifth amendment, however, in response to all committee questions relating to his activities in the Communist Party.

¹⁷ Draper, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 124, 131-134.

Martin Hall,^{17a} the chairman of LAFPCC, has been a continuous supporter of front organizations of the orthodox Communist Party, USA, ever since his arrival in the United States from Germany 25 years ago. Benjamin Gitlow, a leader in the Communist Party, USA, in the 1920's, testified before the committee on July 7, 1953, that Martin Hall had been a well-known figure in the Communist Party of Germany. Mr. Hall himself was interrogated by the committee on December 8, 1956, at which time he invoked his privileges under the fifth amendment, rather than respond to questions concerning activities in behalf of the Communist Party.

In 1936 and 1937, Martin Hall contributed articles to *International Press Correspondence*, official organ of the Communist International. He took up residence in the United States in 1937 and eventually became a naturalized American citizen. Since his arrival in this country, Mr. Hall has received publicity for activities in behalf of the following organizations and publications cited as Communist fronts by official Government agencies: *New Masses*, contributor of articles, 1937; League of American Writers and American Student Union, scheduled speaker, 1937; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, scheduled speaker, 1944; World Federation of Democratic Youth and International Union of Students, attended their World Youth Festival held behind the Iron Curtain in 1947; Civil Rights Congress, signer of public statement, 1948; Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, signer of public statement, 1949; Southern California Chapter of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, executive board member, 1949, subdivision chairman, 1951; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, panel leader at conference, 1950; Independent Progressive Party, scheduled speeches, 1950, 1951, and 1954; Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, speaker, 1951; Los Angeles Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, scheduled speaker and sponsor, 1952; California Labor School, scheduled speaker, 1952; American-Russian Institute, scheduled speaker, 1954; Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, speaker, 1954; Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, scheduled lecturer, 1955; *People's World Forum*, scheduled speaker, 1959 and 1961; *New World Review*, author of article, 1961; *National Guardian*, author of article, 1962.

Hall, a writer and lecturer by occupation, visited Cuba in August 1960 (*People's World*, August 6, 1960). His most recent trip abroad was as a delegate from the United States to the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, held in Moscow July 9-14, 1962, under the auspices of the international Communist front, the World Peace Council. His speech at a meeting of the Economic Commission of the Moscow Congress, in which he attacked the European Common Market as a cold-war weapon, was publicized in Moscow radio broadcasts, as well as in *The Worker*, the Communist Party's official newspaper in the United States.

The committee has obtained information that, within a month after the public appearance of the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee, members of the Southern California District of the Communist Party received instructions to turn out in force at LAFPCC meetings and to move into dominating positions in the pro-Castro

^{17a} A photograph of Martin Hall appears on p. 1521.

propaganda organization. However, the Trotskyists refused to relinquish the leadership they had obtained during the formation of the LAFPCC. In spite of such jockeying for control, Communist Party policy throughout 1961 and early 1962 was one of vigorous support for LAFPCC on the basis of immediate common objectives.

William Guillermo Martinez was one of the speakers at an LAFPCC public meeting in East Los Angeles on February 19, 1962. Mr. Martinez provided commentary for a pro-Castro film shown to the gathering, in the course of which Martinez charged "Yankee imperialists" with being so inhumanitarian that they do not allow food and medical supplies to be sent to Cuba. [The United States embargo on trade with Cuba specifically *exempts* certain medicines, medical equipment, and food items.] Committee investigation has disclosed that William Martinez attended Marxist classes in the Echo Park Section of the Communist Party's Southern California District in 1959 and subsequently became a member of that party section. Mr. Martinez was interrogated by the committee in executive session on April 26, 1962, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions on Communist activity. His testimony will be released in conjunction with a forthcoming committee report on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, USA.

COLLABORATION ON THE PICKET LINE

Communist Party collaboration with the Trotskyists in the LAFPCC was most strikingly illustrated by the large turnout of orthodox Communists and their supporters for picket duty in the organization's many public demonstrations in downtown Los Angeles. On these occasions, the pickets carried signs which appealed for a "Hands Off Cuba" policy, urged Americans to "Join & Support the Fair Play for Cuba Committee," and declared "Cuba Denies Unjust Commie Label."

Not only rank-and-file Communists, but also top officials such as Chairman Dorothy Healey and Executive Secretary Ben Dobbs of the Southern California District of the Communist Party, marched under the banners of the Trotskyist-controlled organization.

Photographs taken on the occasion and reproduced in the appendix to this report reveal that persons with records of activity in the Communist Party participated in the LAFPCC demonstrations staged in front of the Federal Building in Los Angeles on April 15, 19, and 22, 1961. Among them were:¹⁸

Daniel Bessie: A delegate to the Second Convention of the Southern California District of the Communist Party which was held in two sessions in November 1959 and January 1960. He has also attended meetings of the Youth Commission for that party district. He appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities as a witness on October 20, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in answer to questions pertaining to membership in the Communist Party.

Harriet Blair: Attended the Second Convention of the Southern California District of the Communist Party. At the January 1960 convention session, she was elected to the party's 30-member District Committee. Mrs. Blair was a witness before this committee on September 4, 1958, at which time she invoked the fifth amendment in

¹⁸ Photographs of these individuals appear on pp. 1580-1585 of appendix to this report.

response to questions on Communist Party membership and activity.

J. C. Coleman: Identified as a member of the Communist Party by a witness who appeared before this committee in executive session.

Ben Dobbs: Executive secretary of the Southern California District of the Communist Party at the time of his appearance in LAFPCC picket lines. Mr. Dobbs was interrogated by the committee in executive session on April 24, 1962, regarding his activities as No. 2 man in the party organization in Southern California. He invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions relating to party activity. His testimony will be released with a forthcoming committee report on the party's district organization.

Sarah Dorner: Identified as a member of the Communist Party by a witness who appeared before the committee in executive session.

Vincent Fraga: Member of the District Committee of the Communist Party's Southern California District; attended the Second District Convention, which selected him as an alternate delegate to the Communist Party's 17th National Convention in New York City in December 1959. Mr. Fraga was born in Cuba but has been a resident of the United States since at least 1930 and is a naturalized citizen of this country. When the committee attempted to interrogate Mr. Fraga, it learned that he had departed for Cuba in March 1962, with the declared intention of not returning to the U.S.

Irving Goff: Communist Party functionary who attended sessions of the party's Southern California District Executive Board in the period 1959-1961. He was identified as a member of the Communist Party by five former party members in testimony before the committee. This published testimony shows that Mr. Goff's party functions prior to his residence in California included chairmanship of the New York State Veterans Committee of the Communist Party and chairmanship of the Louisiana State organization of the party.

Dorothy Healey: Chairman of the Southern California District of the Communist Party when she joined in the LAFPCC demonstrations. Mrs. Healey was a witness before the committee on September 2, 1958, but refused to answer committee questions on Communist Party activities on grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Rose Chernin Kunitz: Identified as a Communist Party functionary by two witnesses in public testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities. She was among local Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act in 1952, a conviction which was subsequently reversed on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Mrs. Kunitz invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions on Communist activity when she appeared before the committee on December 7 and 8, 1956.

Robert Large: Delegate from the San Gabriel Section of the Communist Party to the Second Convention of the Southern California District of the party. In an appearance before the committee in executive session on April 26, 1962, Mr. Large relied on the fifth amendment and refused to answer questions regarding his Communist Party membership and activity. The testimony will be made public with a committee report on the party's Southern California District.

Rosalind Lindesmith: Identified as a member of the Communist Party by a former FBI undercover operative within the party who testified at a public hearing of the committee on October 20, 1959.

Don Matsuda: Attended the Second Convention of the Southern California District of the Communist Party, which elected him to the

District Committee at the closing session in January 1960. Mr. Matsuda, who has also served on the Minorities Commission for that party district, invoked the fifth amendment when questioned by the committee in executive session on April 25, 1962. The testimony will be released with a committee report on the Southern California District of the party.

Abraham Maymudes: Identified as a long-time Communist Party member in Los Angeles County by two witnesses in executive session before the committee.

Charles Mosley: Delegate to the founding convention of the Southern California District of the Communist Party in April 1957. He was interrogated by the committee on September 4, 1958, but invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Paul Perlin: Identified as a member of the Communist Party by four witnesses testifying at public hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities. When questioned by the committee on October 6, 1952, regarding his Communist Party activities, he responded by invoking his privileges under the fifth amendment.

Rose S. Rosenberg: An attorney, identified as a member of the lawyers' group of the Communist Party in Los Angeles by two former associates in the party who testified at public hearings of the committee in 1951 and 1952. Mrs. Rosenberg appeared as a witness before the committee on October 1, 1952, and refused to answer questions regarding Communist Party membership on the grounds that it violated her rights under the first amendment.

Paul Rosenstein: A member of the Youth Commission of the Southern California District of the Communist Party. When he was interrogated by the committee in executive session on April 25, 1962, regarding his work in behalf of the party's Youth Commission, he responded to committee questions by invoking the fifth amendment. His testimony will be made public in connection with another report which will be issued by the committee in the near future.

Sophie Silver: A member of the Communist Party's Southern California District Council in 1957-1958 and delegate to both the Southern California District Convention in 1959-1960 and the Communist Party National Convention in 1959. Mrs. Silver invoked the first amendment in refusing to answer questions as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958.

Shirley Taylor: Identified as having been active in previous years in the Communist Party in Washington, D.C., by two former party associates who testified before the committee in 1951 and 1953.

LAFPC picket lines were also swelled by the participation of individuals who were former members of the Communist Party or who had close ties to the Communist Party.¹⁹ Examples:

Lillian Carlson was at one time a member of the California State Central Committee of the Communist Party and had been extremely active in the party's front organizations. On March 26, 1958, Mrs. Carlson and a number of other California Communists "reluctantly" signed a letter of resignation from the Communist Party. The signers declared they had no quarrel with the Communist Party's "solidarity with the socialist sector of the world, its aspirations for a socialist

¹⁹ Photographs of the individuals subsequently named appear on p. 1585 of appendix to this report.

America and its study of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism." Their disagreement was with tactics adopted by the national Communist Party leadership, which had provoked them into leaving the party and seek "fresh avenues of approach" to the common goal of a socialist America.

Celeste Kaplan, better known as Celeste Strack, was also a high-ranking official of the California State organization of the Communist Party in earlier years. She signed the same letter of resignation from the Communist Party to which Mrs. Carlson had subscribed.

Beverly Radcliffe, a 24-year-old Canadian citizen, has been an energetic supporter of various Communist Party front organizations and projects specifically designed to attract young people in the Los Angeles community. Committee investigation shows that her activity in Los Angeles in the period 1960-1962 also included attendance at a number of meetings of the Youth Commission of the Southern California District of the Communist Party. Mrs. Radcliffe appeared before the committee in executive session on April 26, 1962, at which time she refused to answer questions on her activity in behalf of the Communist Party on grounds of possible self-incrimination. Her testimony will be released with a forthcoming committee report on the Southern California District of the Communist Party.

Diamond Kim is a Korean-born alien who was interrogated by the committee on June 28, 1955, regarding his role as editor of the *Korean Independence*, a Korean-English language newspaper in Los Angeles. Committee investigation found that his newspaper was exclusively a vehicle of Communist propaganda and that his newspaper's address had been used as a mail drop for communications between the North Korean Communist Government and West Coast Communists. Communist Party documents showed that Mr. Kim himself had been in communication with the North Korean Government. Mr. Kim responded to committee questions by invoking his privileges under the fifth amendment. After Mr. Kim's challenge of a deportation order against him failed in the courts, he voluntarily departed from the United States early in 1962 and took up residence in Communist Czechoslovakia.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING LAFPCO

The Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee in September 1961 claimed to have recruited more than 1,000 members in 9 months of operation. It also boasted that, as a result of its activities, it had succeeded in reaching "tens of thousands" of persons with "the truth about the Cuban struggle."

By March 1962, however, LAFPCO Chairman Martin Hall had publicly expressed concern over a gradual "shrinking" of the organization. As a matter of fact, the bank account of the propaganda group had been closed on February 5, 1962, for reason of overdraft. (That hard times had also set in for the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee was admitted in a letter mailed out by acting Executive Secretary Richard Gibson on September 4, 1962. He confessed the organization was "so poor in October 1961 that we couldn't even afford a mailing to let all our subscribers know that we couldn't afford to continue publishing our *Fair Play* bulletin.")²⁰

²⁰ The Gibson letter stated that "things are a bit better financially" as of September 1962 and the national organization was making plans to publish a magazine with a scope broadened to include "all of Latin America as well as Cuba."

The Committee on Un-American Activities on January 17, 1962, authorized a subcommittee to hold executive hearings in Los Angeles on various aspects of Communist Party activity in Southern California, including the role of Trotskyists and Communists in the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee. When a subcommittee met to receive testimony from key LAFPCC officers on April 26 and 27, 1962, it learned that earlier in the same month Executive Secretary A. J. Lewis had resigned from both the LAFPCC and the Socialist Workers Party for reasons not pertinent to this report. Since the committee's interrogation of A. J. Lewis and Steve Roberts, as well as various functionaries of the Southern California District of the Communist Party who were also active in LAFPCC affairs, no further public meetings or demonstrations by the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee were observed by the committee until this month (October 1962).

The occasion for the revival of LAFPCC activity at this time was the announcement that President Kennedy would speak at the Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles on October 26, 1962. A letter circulated by LAFPCC Chairman Martin Hall under date of October 13, 1962, solicited support for a mass demonstration which would "coincide" with the President's scheduled appearance in that city. The letter stated in part:

DEAR FRIENDS:

All of us are undoubtedly aware of the recent statements of many congressmen calling for an invasion of Cuba, the enlistment of Cuban "exiles" into the U.S. armed forces, the military aid to the counter-revolutionary attacks on Cuba, and now the U.S. plan to blockade Cuban shipping. We consider these actions to be an unmistakable threat to world peace.

We are firm in the belief that all organizations and individuals interested in peace will realize the necessity of alerting the American people to this immediate danger of war and will join in a single public action, the success of which will depend on the widest possible support.

As you are aware, President Kennedy is scheduled to arrive in Los Angeles on Friday, October 26. We are planning a demonstration to coincide with his address at the Dodger stadium on the evening of the same day.

Martin Hall also announced in this letter that a general planning conference for the demonstration would be held on October 20, 1962, in the Starr King Room of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles "in order to gain the most effective co-operation around the planning of this action."

The committee has learned that both orthodox Communists and Trotskyists attended this planning conference, which was presided over by Martin Hall. Arrangements were made for the preparation of picket signs and recruitment of demonstrators. The fact that the site for the President's speech had been changed to the Los Angeles Sports Arena was brought out, and demonstrators were instructed to assemble at the arena well in advance of the time the President was expected to arrive.

President Kennedy's speaking appearance was subsequently cancelled because of the increasing gravity of the very Cuban situation on

which the LAFPCC intended to agitate in the Communists' interests. As the President informed the Nation on October 22, 1962, the Soviet Union was installing a series of offensive nuclear missile bases in Cuba, and the United States was preparing to blockade any offensive military equipment delivered to Cuba in the future. The LAFPCC nevertheless proceeded with its plans, and on October 26 its pickets, carrying signs and chanting "Hands Off Cuba", paraded in front of the Los Angeles Sports Arena. Chairman Hall announced that the demonstration was only one in a series which would protest United States policy with respect to Cuba.

As committee investigation has clearly shown, the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee has provided the mechanism for a united-front effort by Trotskyists and orthodox Communists to sell a false bill of goods to the public. But well-publicized statements such as Fidel Castro's announcement on December 2, 1961, that he was a confirmed "Marxist-Leninist" with confidence in the future world victory of communism contradicts the organization's propaganda line that communism is a false issue in Cuban-American relations, conjured up as a smokescreen by predatory imperialists in the United States. These "friends" of Castro must, therefore, thank the Cuban dictator himself for the present condition of their propaganda organization. The LAFPCC is today only sporadically active, emerging into public view only when there are possibilities of capitalizing on some unusual development, such as the President's projected visit to California.

OPEN BICKERING BY RIVAL MARXIST GROUPS

The committee observes with interest that, as Fair Play for Cuba Committee supporters were gradually being reduced to individuals willing to support an avowed Communist-style government in Cuba, members of various competing Marxist groups began bickering in public over their roles in the Fair Play organization.

The former treasurer of the New York chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee publicly stated in December 1961 that "Socialist Workers Party people" had been "running the national office" from early 1961 until Executive Secretary Richard Gibson decided to get rid of them in the summer of 1961.²¹ Beginning in November 1961, an ultra-left, dissident Communist group, known as the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC), also publicly protested against "Trotskyist wreckers" who, it claimed, were entrenched in the Fair Play for Cuba organization in every area of the country where it existed.²²

Such complaints brought forth a letter from Richard Gibson to the POC, stating that to claim the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was a front group for the Trotskyists was just as wrong as the charge that Trotskyists were being purged from the organization. The Gibson

²¹ *The Independent*, December 1961. This individual said he had resigned as treasurer of the N.Y. chapter of FPCC in Jan. 1961, because his opinions were either not solicited or were ignored in the formation of chapter policy.

²² *Vanquard*, official POC publication, October-November 1961 and February-March 1962. The committee, in its Annual Report for 1959, reported on the formation of the POC in August 1958 by a number of persons with extreme left-wing views who had been recently expelled from the Communist Party for opposing certain prevailing party tactics.

POC members refer to themselves as the "true Marxist-Leninists" and "the genuine communists." They attack Soviet and Yugoslav Communist leaders for lacking the militancy of Chinese and Albanian Communist leaders (*Vanquard*, February-March 1962).

letter, dated December 29, 1961, insisted that the FPCC welcomed support from "all progressive Americans without distinction" in order to "tell as many Americans as possible the truth about Cuba's Socialist Revolution." ²³

This controversy may have provoked the following "opinion" delivered by Blas Roca, Cuba's "top communist," ²⁴ to a correspondent of the *National Guardian* and printed in the issue of that newspaper dated April 16, 1962 (p. 6):

Correspondent's question: "Do you welcome to the ranks of Cuba's friends and partisans in the U.S. people of any orientation, for example Trotskyists? How can Cuba's U.S. friends best help Cuba?"

Blas Roca's answer: "I am not well acquainted with those who call themselves Trotskyists in the U.S. We are separated from Trotskyists in general by fundamental points of view, and from some in particular by their actions as enemies. But I think that all in the U.S. who sincerely defend and support the Cuban revolution, and the right of self-determination of the Cuban and other Latin American peoples, do a worthy revolutionary job and we value them whatever their ideological concepts may be. * * *

"Thus the defense of Cuba in the U.S. should be carried forward without any kind of sectarianism, with the greatest open-mindedness, with an objective spirit of judgment on the basis not of what people say but of what they do."

WHO ARE THE TROTSKYISTS?

James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, explained his party's views in a speech in Los Angeles, Calif., on June 15, 1956, as follows: ²⁵

We Trotskyists regard the Russian Revolution of 1917 as the great dividing line in human history. Ascending world capitalism came to a halt there, met with its first defeat, and entered into its decline. * * *

We Trotskyists * * * have always regarded the Russian Revolution not as an end in itself, but as the starting point of the worldwide socialist revolution. For that reason, from that socialist internationalist standpoint, we have been partisans and defenders of the Soviet Union and the Russian Revolution which brought it into existence, ever since 1917.

* * * Everything we have said and done, either in praise or in criticism, in all the intervening time, has been governed by the single criterion: What is good for the Revolution, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the extension of the revolution throughout the world?

In its support of the Soviet Union, which the party has always insisted is "unconditional support," and in its promotion of an eventual worldwide Soviet system, the Socialist Workers Party's

²³ *Vanguard*, February-March 1962.

²⁴ Roca was also identified in this printed interview as the former general secretary of the Cuban Communist Party who was now serving as editor of the Cuban newspaper *HOY*. This publication was for several decades the official organ of the Cuban Communist Party, which operated in Cuba under the name Partido Socialista Popular (Popular Socialist Party).

²⁵ James P. Cannon's speech was printed in the pamphlet, *The 20th Congress (C.P.S.U.) and World Trotskyism* (London: New Park Publications Ltd., February 1957), pp. 37, 38.

aims appear to be identical with those of the Communist Party of the United States. From the standpoint of Americans who have no desire to see their representative government replaced by a Soviet-style "dictatorship of the proletariat," the differences between the two organizations are not appreciable. Yet Trotskyists and Communists have been unable to reconcile their differences in 34 years of rival activity in the United States.²⁶

Socialist Workers Party members are "disciples" of Leon Trotsky, National Chairman Cannon has also declared.²⁷ This identification with the views of the famous Russian revolutionary leader indicates the basis for Trotskyist differences with the Communist Party, despite the similarity of their goals. Whereas the theory and program of the Communist Party have been based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as interpreted by Stalin and his successor, Nikita Khrushchev, the Socialist Workers Party declares itself bound by the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as subsequently expounded by Trotsky.²⁸

Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) has been described as ranking second only to Lenin in organizing and leading the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia in November 1917. Trotsky was the first Secretary of State in the new Communist government. (The post was actually known as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.) In March 1918, he was named People's Commissar of War, from which position he organized the Red Army and fought to a successful conclusion a long-drawn-out civil war which had erupted in Russia. Following the revolution, the Executive Committee of the all powerful Bolshevik (later Communist) Party in Russia included Stalin as well as Lenin and Trotsky. Lenin had to mediate numerous conflicts between Trotsky and Stalin in the early post-revolutionary period.

Lenin became ill in 1923 and died on January 21, 1924. Many persons shared Leon Trotsky's view that he was the logical successor to Lenin. However, Joseph Stalin had been maneuvering for power from the key position he had received in 1922, that of general secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee. Bitter power struggles wracked the Soviet Communist Party until 1929, as Stalin gradually succeeded in eliminating Trotsky, as well as other leading Communists opposed to his personal rule over the Soviet Union. Trotsky had already been ousted from his post as Commissar of War by January 1925. He was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party's top Executive Committee (Politburo) in October 1926 and from the party itself in November 1927. The following month, Trotsky was banished to Turkistan. He was deported to Turkey in February 1929, when he would not promise to halt his political activity. He subsequently lived in Turkey, France, Norway, and Mexico, remaining in Mexico from January 1937 until August 1940, when he was assassinated by an agent of the Soviet secret police.

²⁶ This report uses the term Trotskyist to refer to the Socialist Workers Party and predecessor organizations in which James P. Cannon played a leadership role after his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1928. It does not attempt to deal with the many groups formed over the years by Trotskyists who disagreed with Cannon's leadership or policies.

²⁷ Speech of March 9, 1956, in Los Angeles, Calif., printed in *The 20th Congress (C.P.S.U.) and World Trotskyism*, p. 23.

²⁸ Previous committee reports describing the character of the Socialist Workers Party include *House Report 1920* on "The Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence," May 11, 1948, and *House Report 1694* on "Organized Communism in the United States," May 28, 1954. The U.S. Attorney General identified the Socialist Workers Party as a subversive, Communist organization which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means (Letters to Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

In the course of the Stalin-Trotsky conflict following Lenin's death, "personal animosity took on ideological attire" and Trotsky's views, in particular where they differed from Stalin's, became an opposing Communist philosophy and strategy known as "Trotskyism."²⁹ The first Soviet leaders had expected successful revolutions to occur in other countries as well as in Russia and believed they were essential for the creation of a "socialist society" in Russia. When these revolutions failed to materialize, Stalin announced "socialism" would be built in Russia, despite the delay in inevitable revolutions in the rest of the world. Trotsky derided this "socialism in one country" idea as being too nationalist and amounting to a betrayal of the worldwide revolution which Trotsky still maintained was essential for building socialism in Russia. (This report does not attempt to provide a full exposition of Trotsky's so-called theory of "permanent revolution," also defined as "continuous" revolution, which includes the proposition that a socialist revolution to endure must be worldwide.) Trotsky had also denounced as treason Stalin's instructions that Chinese Communists collaborate with the Kuomintang in China in the 1920's. To Trotsky, Stalin's dictatorship was not a true "dictatorship of the proletariat" but a degenerate kind of bureaucracy more barbaric in the abuse of power than the Czarist regimes.³⁰

FOUNDING OF AMERICAN TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

Leon Trotsky's continued fulminations against Stalin as a betrayer of Lenin's principles and perverter of world socialist revolution led to the formation of pro-Trotsky factions within many Communist parties throughout the world and, eventually, separate Communist parties loyal to Trotsky.

James P. Cannon, present national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, is considered the founder of the American Trotskyist movement. Cannon became acquainted with Trotsky's views when as a leader of the Communist Party, USA, Cannon traveled to Moscow in the summer of 1928 as a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. Cannon served on the Comintern's Program Commission, the only body permitted to see copies of a document Trotsky had sent to the Congress to support what proved to be an unsuccessful appeal for reinstatement in the Communist Party. Cannon was converted to Trotsky's views, smuggled a copy of the Trotsky document back to the United States, and soon created a pro-Trotsky faction within the Communist Party, USA. When the Stalinist-oriented leaders of the CPUSA discovered this activity, Cannon and his handful of followers were expelled from the party on October 27, 1928. These Trotskyists brought out the first issue of their organ, *The Militant*, on November 15, 1928, and on May 17-19, 1929, convened to organize the Communist League of America (Opposition), first in a series of organizational efforts which culminated in the formation of the present-day Socialist Workers Party on January 1, 1938.³¹

²⁹ "Facts on Communism, Vol. II: The Soviet Union, from Lenin to Khrushchev," Committee on Un-American Activities, December 1960, p. 144.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 150. See also Theodore Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1960), pp. 130-132, and Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours* (New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1942), pp. 22, 23.

³¹ Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, pp. 364-371.

In 1934, Trotskyists gave up their efforts to effect a change of policy by the Communist International and supported a movement for the formation of a new international which would lead the "world working class" to the ultimate victory of "socialism." Under Trotsky's guidance, the so-called IV International was formed in Switzerland in September 1938 by factions from 11 countries. The Socialist Workers Party of the United States has stated that it played a "key role" in founding the IV International and that it remained a member until passage of the Voorhis Act in October 1940, which regulated organizations subject to foreign control. The SWP thereafter described itself as being "completely sympathetic" to the aims of the IV International. (The SWP has conceded, however, that the International secretariat and various sections are wracked with strife over how Trotsky would have run the organization and reacted to post-Stalin Soviet policies, had he not met an untimely death in 1940.)³²

After passage of the Smith Act in June 1940, the Socialist Workers Party also played down references to force and violence in its agitation for the overthrow of our present system of government. In appealing their convictions under the Smith Act, SWP leaders called attention to their special convention in December 1940, at which the party's founding "Declaration of Principles" had been suspended and withdrawn. The appellate court, in sustaining the convictions, declared that the main purpose of that action was to escape registration under the Voorhis Act and:

This record shows convincingly that neither the enactment of this Act [Smith Act] nor the "suspension and withdrawal" resolution had the slightest effect upon the doctrines, purposes or methods of the Party. There was no break, much less abandonment, of the conspiracy to use force to overthrow the Government and to advocate insubordination, etc., in the armed forces. (138 F. 2d 137, at 152)

The testimony of Foster Williams, Jr., before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 17, 1954, is also pertinent. Mr. Williams testified that he was a member of the Communist Party in Seattle from 1947 to 1950 and was subsequently active in the Seattle Socialist Workers Party between 1950 and the fall of 1952. The witness found that the "Socialist Workers Party condemns the Communist Party as being willing to make deals with the so-called capitalists class on a basis to preserve the gains of the Soviet Union. They take issue with this and say there should be an all-out struggle against capitalism on a worldwide scale." Asked by the committee about the SWP view on the use of force and violence, as compared with the view of the Communist Party, Mr. Williams testified:

I would say, sir, it is more extreme, although they employ the same euphemisms. They say force and violence will not be perpetuated [perpetrated] by the workers, but by the capitalists and the workers, after they take part [power], will have to defend themselves against the capitalists. They

³² *Socialism and American Life*, pp. 55, 56, 154; *International Socialist Review*, Fall 1958, p. 146; Summer 1961, p. 97. The SWP pamphlet, *The Socialist Workers Party, What It Is—What It Stands For* (New York: Pioneer Publishers, May 1958) referred to *The Militant* as "our newspaper" and the *International Socialist Review* as "our theoretical magazine."

consider that force and violence will be necessary for the workers to defend their gains.³³

Organizationally, the Socialist Workers Party, like the Communist Party, professes to adhere to Lenin's concept of a party—which actually provides for a paramilitary, conspiratorial organization with a virtual absence of democratic procedures. National Chairman Cannon in 1947 referred to the Trotskyists' "long struggle to build a homogeneous combat party" and their "stubborn and irreconcilable fight for a single program uniting the party as a whole; for a democratic and centralized and disciplined party with a professional leadership * * *." He also pointed up the party's concentration on "trade union work" and declared:

In short, we have worked and struggled to build a party fit to lead a revolution in the United States. At the bottom of all our conceptions was the basic conception that the proletarian revolution is a realistic proposition in this country, and not merely a far-off "ultimate goal," to be referred to on ceremonial occasions.³⁴

RECENT CHANGES IN RELATIONS BETWEEN TROTSKYISTS AND COMMUNISTS

For 25 years, the relationship between the Communist Party, USA, and organized Trotskyist movements was one of intense hatred and violent opposition. In the Soviet Union, between 1934 and 1938, a series of in camera and public "treason" trials were held, and thousands of Communists and non-Communists were executed as the paranoiac Stalin sought to crush any possibility of dissent from his policies. Trotsky's sympathizers had been disposed of in the earliest trials, but heinous conspiracies instigated by Trotsky were routine charges at later trials of Communists who actually held views opposite to those of Trotsky. Historians have observed that the exiled Trotsky appeared to be the chief accused during the infamous Soviet purges of the 1930's.

Although leaders of the Communist Party, USA, had obediently sent cables to Moscow denouncing Trotsky as early as December 1924, Communists³⁵ in the early 1930's were so aroused against the Trotskyists that they used violence to break up Trotskyist meetings and assemblies. After one such incident in New York City in August 1932, some 20,000 Communists marched through the streets shouting "Death to the Trotskyites. Death to all Renegades."³⁶ Former Communist functionary Barbara Hartle told the committee that, during the 1930's, the Communist Party taught its members that their worst enemies, outside of law-enforcement authorities, were the Trotskyists in the Socialist Workers Party.³⁷

³³ "Investigation of Communist Activities in the Pacific Northwest Area—Part 6", Committee on Un-American Activities, Hearings, June 17, 1954, pp. 6436, 6437.

³⁴ James P. Cannon, *The Coming American Revolution*, (New York: Pioneer Publishers, April 1947), p. 18.

³⁵ "Communists" will be used hereafter to refer to members of the Communist Party, USA, although Socialist Workers Party members consider themselves to be the "genuine" Communists.

³⁶ The SWP stated it is "the sole legitimate heir and continuator of pioneer American Communism" in theses adopted at its 12th National Convention, Nov. 15-18, 1946, in Chicago (*The Coming American Revolution*, p. 16).

³⁷ Benjamin Gitlow, *The Whole of Their Lives* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), pp. 234, 235.

³⁷ "Investigation of Communist Activities in the Pacific Northwest Area—Part 2," Committee on Un-American Activities, Hearings June 14, 1954, p. 6076.

The death of Joseph Stalin on March 5, 1953, paved the way to revised relations between the Communists and Trotskyists. Khrushchev's speech in February 1956, denouncing Stalin as a ruthless tyrant who unjustifiably sent thousands of Communists to their death or prisons during the purges of the 1930's, was another important step toward an alteration in traditional Communist-Trotskyist relations. The pattern of the revised relationship was set by Khrushchev's announcement that same month of the necessity for Communists to form a "united front" (i.e., cooperative action in behalf of immediate goals) with all forces willing to enter into such a relationship. After explaining that the main effort of such cooperative activity would be directed *against* the "war danger" emanating from such "imperialist" centers as the United States and directed *toward* support of the Soviet Union's allegedly "peaceful" policies, Khrushchev referred to Communist unity with other left-wing elements as follows:

Unity of the working class, of its trade unions, unity of action of its political parties, the Communists, the Socialists, and other workers' parties, is acquiring exceptional importance.

Not a few of the misfortunes harassing the world today result from the fact that in many countries the working class has been split for many years and its various detachments do not present a united front * * *. Life has placed on the order of the day many questions which not only demand rapprochement and cooperation among all workers' parties, but also create real possibilities for this cooperation. * * * The interests of the struggle for peace make it imperative to sweep aside mutual recriminations, find points of contact, and, on these grounds, lay the foundations for cooperation. Cooperation is possible and essential with those circles of the socialist movement which have different views from ours on the forms of transition to socialism. Among them are many who are honestly mistaken on this question, but this is no obstacle to cooperation.³⁸

Resolutions adopted at the subsequent 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA in February 1957 admitted the party's past mistake in seeking to fight against and liquidate other "socialist-oriented" groups in the United States and promised that henceforth "cooperation" and "united action" would be sought. In August 1961, Communist Party General Secretary Gus Hall reiterated that the party's policy involved "widest united front activity" by "Left and progressive forces" in order to build up "pressures upon the [Kennedy] administration for a change of policy in the direction of peaceful co-existence." The party boss observed that "This requires discussion among all forces of the Left, in which past differences are subordinated to the need to find common ground to meet the onslaught of reaction."³⁹

³⁸ "Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," delivered by N. S. Khrushchev to 20th Congress of Communist Party, Soviet Union, February 14, 1956, printed in *Current Soviet Policies II*, ed. Leo Grulio (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957), p. 33.

³⁹ *Proceedings, 16th National Convention, Communist Party, U.S.A.*, (New York: New Century Publishers Inc., May 1957) pp. 329-334; *Political Affairs*, August 1961, pp. 18, 19.

CONTINUING COMMUNIST-TROTSKYIST DIFFERENCES NO BAR TO
UNITED FRONT

While the main efforts of the Communists were directed toward obtaining cooperation from the more numerous democratic socialists,⁴⁰ Socialist Workers Party leaders were quick to take advantage of the Communists' offer of a united front. The Trotskyists summarized their position as follows:

There are many other matters of common interest on which we believe there can and should be united action, including the fight for civil rights, opposing the cold war and meeting the attacks of the ultra right. * * *

Organizational unity, however, is a more difficult matter. * * *

But the question about the desirability of all socialists getting together is a valid one, and the answer is: "On the many points where they agree, they can and should work together."⁴¹

Possibilities of organizational unity, explored by various "socialists" beginning in 1957, had ended in failure. (Representatives of both the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party had attended conferences called for such a purpose.) Complete rapprochement between the two parties has never been achieved. While the Socialist Workers Party hailed Khrushchev's speeches against Stalin as "the biggest news and the best news since the death of Stalin himself," it noted that the new Soviet dictator still "praises" Stalin's purge of the Trotskyists and "has no intention of rehabilitating Trotsky."⁴² The puppet Communist Party, USA, had also continued to denounce Trotskyist ideas and even described the crushing of Trotskyism in the Soviet Union in the period 1924-1936 as one of Stalin's "valuable contributions."⁴³

For its part, the Socialist Workers Party continued to refer to the present leadership of the USSR, China, and other Communist nations as "Stalinist bureaucrats," who would eventually be overthrown by internal revolution. The Socialist Workers Party expressed preference for Chinese Communist militancy over Khrushchev's excessive emphasis on "peaceful coexistence" propaganda. The Socialist Workers Party said the Khrushchev line tended to undermine the continued "development of the class struggle," discourage the extension of the Soviet system into capitalist areas of the world, and rendered orthodox Communist parties (including the CPUSA) "utterly incapable of revolutionary action." Newest "proof" offered by the Trotskyists for these charges was the Cuban Communist Party's acknowledged mistake in refusing to support the Castro insurgency until months before Castro's final victory.⁴⁴ The SWP

⁴⁰ Gus Hall made a public appeal to the June 1962 convention of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation for a "united front" with the Communist Party; it was rejected by the organization (*New America*, June 29, 1962, p. 6).

⁴¹ *The Militant*, September 17, 1962, p. 4.

⁴² *The 20th Congress (C.P.S.U.) and World Trotskyism*, pp. 13, 30.

⁴³ *Political Affairs*, May 1962, pp. 58, 59.

⁴⁴ The SWP's own publications, however, had been critical of the "nationalist" Castro throughout most of his first year in power, and it was not until January 1960 that *The Militant* announced an all-out "Hands Off Cuba" propaganda campaign. At this time, *The Militant* expressed enthusiasm over the "leftward turn" of the Cuban revolutionary regime and began finding in Cuban events a confirmation of Trotsky's theory of "permanent" (i.e., continuous) revolution. Farrell Dobbs, national secretary and actual leader of the SWP, and Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, made a Cuban tour in April 1960. (*The Militant* Jan. 11, 1960, pp. 1, 4; April 11, 1960, p. 1.)

also adamantly opposed the Communists' tactic in the United States of working within existing political parties.⁴⁵

The Trotskyist organization agreed with the Communists that conquests of the Sino-Soviet bloc must be defended against "the predatory foreign aims of Wall Street and Washington." As a result of its agreement to defend the Soviet Union (albeit not the Soviet leaders), the Socialist Workers Party propaganda line coincides with that of the Communist Party in calling for withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil, removal of American military bases abroad, a halt to nuclear weapons testing, recognition of the Chinese Communist government, support of the Cuban revolution, etc.⁴⁶ Observing that the Communists now admit they made a mistake in failing to defend Trotskyist leaders prosecuted under the Smith Act in the 1940's, the Socialist Workers Party has also pledged support for Communist Party officials currently the subject of court proceedings for violation of the Internal Security Act.⁴⁷

In addition to working together in organizations such as the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party representatives in recent years have also shared the same speakers, platform on a considerable number of occasions to agitate against other aspects of U.S. Government policy on which they see eye to eye.

GROWTH OF TROTSKYIST INFLUENCE

That the united-front activity of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party has served to increase the influence of the relatively small group of Trotskyists in the United States was cause for complaint from the POC, the Communist splinter organization which opposes Communist-Trotskyist collaboration. The POC charged that as a result of "this new era—wherein Trotskyites and leaders of the CP speak from the same platform"—

the revisionist policy of the CPUSA leaders has opened the door to Trotskyite influence far beyond their numerical significance. * * *

Taking advantage of the lack of experience of youth, the Trotskyites peddle their poisoned fruit among them. In the absence of a militant Communist Party, young radicals occasionally fall for demagogic Trotskyite slogans * * *.⁴⁸

The Socialist Workers Party, however, credits its increased following to the desire of many Communists and former Communists for a more militant line and more independent electoral activity than the Communist Party offered.

The Trotskyist organization has stated that the 1956 Khrushchev revelations regarding Stalin and other developments, which resulted in the defection of a great many Communist Party members in the late 1950's, served to boost the membership of the Socialist Workers Party:

A significant number of former members and sympathizers of the CP joined the SWP. * * * It is of considerable

⁴⁵ For concise statements on SWP policy see *Regroupment, A Programmatic Basis for Discussion of Socialist Unity*, SWP pamphlet (New York: Pioneer Publishers, Feb. 1957); *The Militant*, Nov. 13, 1961, pp. 1, 2; *International Socialist Review*, Winter 1958, pp. 8-15; Fall 1960, pp. 106-110.

⁴⁶ Socialist Workers Party Election Platform, printed in leaflet distributed during 1960 electoral campaign.

⁴⁷ *The Militant*, Sept. 17, 1962, p. 4.

⁴⁸ *Vanguard*, October-November 1961, p. 4.

symptomatic importance, for example, that the regroupment policy of the SWP played an important role in encouraging the formation of a national revolutionary socialist youth cadre for the first time in a generation.

Thus in the overall change in the relationship of forces within the radical movement over the past three years, the SWP emerges as the only political tendency that has gained new ground and strengthened its relative position. * * * ⁴⁹

Success of its work among youth is a constant Socialist Workers Party boast:

The capacity of a Marxist movement to inspire a new generation of radical youth is a decisive measure of its freshness, vigor and determination. Beginning with 1956 it was the SWP alone of all the radical groups that attracted a dynamic youth movement genuinely interested in revolutionary socialist politics * * * ⁵⁰

The Young Socialist Alliance held a founding convention in Philadelphia in April 1960, at which it dedicated itself to bringing "Marxian socialism to American youth." The organization's Founding Declaration also stated the convention was "the result of a political process which began in 1956" and of a growth in supporters to the point where "a national organization of a revolutionary youth movement" could be formed. The Young Socialist Alliance declared it would operate as an "independent organization" but would have "political solidarity" with the Socialist Workers Party. The youth group referred to the SWP as follows:

The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party are the only revolutionary socialist groups in the United States today. The YSA recognizes that only the SWP of all existing political parties is capable of providing the working class with political leadership on class struggle principles. As a result of its three-year development the supporters of the Young Socialist have come into basic political solidarity, on the principles of revolutionary socialism, with the SWP. ⁵¹

When its Second National Convention was held during New Year's weekend of 1962, the Young Socialist Alliance claimed delegates from more than 20 college campuses and announced that the regular circulation of the Young Socialist Alliance's monthly paper, *The Young Socialist*, had reached 5,000. ⁵² (The SWP newspaper, *The Militant*, reported its own average circulation at 4,776 for 1961.)

This committee report has provided a cursory review of the Socialist Workers Party's history, program, and activities in the hope that the information will assist the Congress in evaluating problems posed by the recent resurgence of the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

As this report has shown, these dissident Communists, with all-out support from the orthodox Communist movement, manipulated the most active front operation in the Los Angeles community during the

⁴⁹ *International Socialist Review*, Fall 1959, p. 100.

⁵⁰ *International Socialist Review*, Spring 1960, p. 52.

⁵¹ *The Young Socialist*, May 1960, p. 6.

⁵² *The Militant*, January 22, 1962, p. 2.

years 1960-61. Recent diminution of activity by the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been due, not so much to lack of effective effort by Communist elements, as to developments beyond their control. Castro's blatantly pro-Communist actions and pronouncements of the last year or so have made it virtually impossible for any group, no matter how skilled in propaganda and agitation, to continue selling the American public the line that communism is not an issue in Cuban-American relations.

The new united-front relationship between the Trotskyists and orthodox Communists in the United States—demonstrated by other activities as well as by their collaboration within the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee—has produced dividends for both groups and adds to the overall strength of subversive forces in this country. The Committee on Un-American Activities will continue to be alert to such activities which increase our Nation's internal security problems.

The testimony of Albert J. Lewis and Steve Roberts taken in executive session before this committee on April 26 and 27, 1962, respectively, in Los Angeles, Calif., is printed in full on the following pages.

COMMUNIST AND TROTSKYIST ACTIVITY WITHIN THE GREATER LOS ANGELES CHAPTER OF THE FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Los Angeles, California.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met at 8:15 a.m., pursuant to recess, in Room 519, United States Federal Building, Honorable Clyde Doyle (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Clyde Doyle, of California; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Doyle, Tuck, Scherer, and Johansen.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., director, and William A. Wheeler, investigator.

* * * * *

Mr. DOYLE. Dr. Lewis, do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. LEWIS. [Indicating.]

Mr. DOYLE. What is your answer?

Dr. LEWIS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT JORGENSEN LEWIS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ROBERT W. KENNY

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name for us, please?

Dr. LEWIS. A. J. Lewis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your first and middle name, and spell it?

Dr. LEWIS. Albert Jorgenson. Spell my first name or my middle name?

Mr. TAVENNER. Jorgenson.

Dr. LEWIS. Well, you know, there has been a big dispute in my family.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell it?

Dr. LEWIS. J-o-r-g-e-n-s-o-n L-e-w-i-s.

¹ Released by the committee and ordered to be printed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness please identify himself for the record?

Mr. KENNY. Robert W. Kenny, Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Doctor?

Dr. LEWIS. I was born in Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Dr. LEWIS. When? 1917.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us, please, briefly, your formal educational training and any degrees, honorary or otherwise, which you have received?

Dr. LEWIS. I am a graduate of Tufts College, bachelor's degree; Tufts Theological College; Starr-King School for the Ministry; University of Paris and a number of other universities where I took courses. Graduated from Paris with highest honors.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what degrees have been awarded you?

Dr. LEWIS. B.A. and Doctorate of the University of Paris.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present professional occupation?

Dr. LEWIS. I am a family relations counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Los Angeles?

Dr. LEWIS. [Indicating.]

Mr. KENNY. You have to speak audibly because the reporter can't—

Dr. LEWIS. I am sorry. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you engaged in that profession?

Dr. LEWIS. Well, I have been doing—actually started doing some counseling when I was head student, churches, in, oh, about 20 years ago. But I did other things in the meantime like teaching in the university and—

Mr. TAVENNER. You were employed by Field Enterprises, Incorporated, in 1958, were you not, at 6404 Hollywood Boulevard?

Dr. LEWIS. Well, I decline to answer this on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were employed by Kaiser Steel Corporation at Fontana, California, as a salesman in 1957; were you not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer, same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. During part of World War II were you employed by the National Labor Relations Board?

Dr. LEWIS. I decline to answer, same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. During part of the war period you were personnel supervisor at Kaiser Shipyards in Richmond, California, at Plant No. 1 of that company, were you not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer. Same grounds.

Is that right?

Mr. KENNY. Yes, that's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you also employed by the Institute of Pacific Relations, and if so, when?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. How is that?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you serve in the Armed Forces of the United States?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer that question. Certainly it couldn't submit you to possibility of criminal prosecution because you served in the military forces of the United States, could it?

Mr. KENNY. I think if the witness answered the question, in his judgment it might incriminate him regarding what it might lead to, I suppose.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I would like to have the answer to the question.

Do you really believe—do you honestly believe if you answered that “Yes,” truthfully, that it would subject you to a probability of criminal prosecution?

Dr. LEWIS. I would like to consult my counsel here.

Mr. DOYLE. Certainly, do that. We would be glad to have you do so.

Dr. LEWIS. My understanding is that to be consistent, I decline to answer that on the same grounds as previously mentioned.

Mr. DOYLE. You realize I directed you to answer that question and now are you answering it by declining to answer on the same grounds you previously stated?

Dr. LEWIS. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. All right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you appear here in response to a subpoena served upon you?

Dr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is your present address 1559 Altivo Way, Los Angeles, California?

Dr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Lewis, were you the executive secretary for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline on the same grounds as previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer in evidence and ask that it be marked Lewis Exhibit No. 1, a news release of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Mr. DOYLE. It may be received in evidence.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the caption of this news release appears the name of the executive secretary. The release says: “Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Greater Los Angeles Chapter, 1559 Altivo Way, Los Angeles 26, California, Dr. A. J. Lewis, Executive Secretary, Telephone NO 2-5462.”

You are the Dr. A. J. Lewis referred to in this document, are you not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer.

(For “Lewis Exhibit No. 1,” see p. 1569.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The address given of the headquarters of Fair Play for Cuba Committee is the address which you just gave us as being that of your residence, 1559 Altivo Way, is it not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. DOYLE. All you answered to that question is that you decline to answer. You didn’t give any grounds for declining.

Dr. LEWIS. Well, same grounds, Your Honor, as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Doctor, does a local chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee have an affiliation with a national organization by the same name?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I note in further reading of the news release, which is Exhibit No. 1—

Mr. DOYLE. It is under what date, Mr. Tavenner, if there is a date on it?

Mr. TAVENNER. It has no date, although there is a reference in the document which says: "adopted unanimously at Fair Play for Cuba meeting, January 6th, 1961," so the news release is some date subsequent to that.

Now, referring again to this document, I read the following from it: "The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is a national organization that came into existence last April with the object of improving relations between the United States and Cuba." That would be in April 1960; would it not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. This meeting at which action was taken on January 6, 1961, which is mentioned in this news release, was the initial meeting of this local organization; isn't that true?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call your attention to one of the names of other persons appearing in this news release, Lewis Exhibit No. 1. It is stated here the officers of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee are, among others, Martin Hall, chairman. Hall appeared as a witness before the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in 1954; he invoked the fifth amendment when that committee asked him whether or not he was a member of the Young Communist League in Germany in 1924. He was the subject of testimony by Benjamin Gitlow, who was active in Communist Party affairs in this country. Hall also appeared before this committee and refused to answer any questions relating to his own Communist Party activities and relied on the fifth amendment in refusing to do so. Do you know whether it is the same man?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. He was identified by Gitlow as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Benjamin Gitlow testified on July 7, 1953, in New York that Martin Hall, who is also known by the name of Herman Jacobs, was a Communist of long standing, a well-known figure in the Communist Party of Germany. Gitlow stated Hall has sponsored Communist-front movements in the country which gave him asylum and citizenship, and served as vice president of the German-American League for Culture, described by Gitlow as a Communist organization.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, he is one of the prime movers of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, as I understand it?

Mr. TAVENNER. This news release reports him to be the chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Of the national association or the local association?

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the local association.

Dr. Lewis, did you know Martin Hall to be a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. SCHERER. You knew Martin Hall, did you not, Witness?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Gabriela Huesca is listed here on the news release, Lewis Exhibit No. 1, as the recording secretary. Do you know where she is now?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has she resigned from her position?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. She defected from the United States to Cuba, didn't she?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Socialist Workers Party?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. This document shows that Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman is the honorary co-chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Dr. LEWIS. I decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. SCHERER. I sort of expect that.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that Mr. A. L. Wirin, attorney, supported a resolution adopted by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. You are acquainted with Mr. Wirin?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wirin is a lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union.

I notice that the news release refers to Philip Kerby, publisher, as also concurring in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee resolution. Do you know what he is a publisher of?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe he is publisher of *Frontier* magazine, isn't he?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next person named is Steve Roberts, West Coast representative of the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The West Coast representative of the national organization.

Mr. Roberts is a long-time member of the Socialist Workers Party, is he not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. He ran for Governor of the State of California on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1946, didn't he?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. KENNY. Mr. Chairman, 1946 was a bad year, wasn't it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Lewis, I want to ask you a few questions regarding the national organization. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has national headquarters at 799 Broadway, New York City; does it not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. After preliminary, unpublicized organizational work, the organization appeared in the public view on April 6, 1960, with the publication of a huge advertisement in the *New York Times*; is that not correct?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The organization presents itself to the American public as a strictly American organization, independent of any foreign government, with an aim of telling "the truth about revolutionary Cuba"; is that correct?

Dr. LEWIS. I decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Investigations begun by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee revealed that officials of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee received most of the money to pay for its *New York Times* advertisement—more than \$3,000—directly from a representative of the Castro government in Cuba. Can you enlighten this committee on that subject?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Doesn't the organization which you served as the local executive secretary have for its purpose the building up of support within the United States for the present Communist dictatorship in Cuba?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I fail to see anything particularly humorous about this line of questioning or the answers that we are getting. We are talking about a murderous regime that poses a threat to this country, and I think it ill becomes a witness to see it in that light.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does not the Fair Play for Cuba Committee attempt to mobilize American public opinion in favor of the Castro regime in the hope of weakening the United States Government's official efforts against the introduction of a Communist system in this hemisphere?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. As of October 1960 the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee claimed over 3,000 members with chapters in principal cities.

Another advertisement by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee which appeared in the *New York Times* on April 21, 1961, signed by Richard Gibson, acting national executive secretary, stated the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on that date had more than 6,000 members with 21 chapters in U.S. cities and four Canadian chapters.

Is the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee a chapter of the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. I think it is obvious that it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. A mimeograph letter appealing for funds was issued by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York, and signed by the aforementioned Richard Gibson. The letter included the following in a partial list of FPCC chapters—I am quoting one of the entries: "Los Angeles Chapter, Post Office Box 26251, Los Angeles 26, California."

Was Mr. Gibson referring to your organization?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce in evidence a photostatic copy of a letter on the stationery of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Greater Los Angeles Chapter, bearing date of December 3, 1961, and ask it be marked Lewis Exhibit No. 2.

And the purpose is to show the names of the committee officers and sponsors.

Mr. DOYLE. It will be received and marked.

(For "Lewis Exhibit No. 2" see p. 1571).

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, Dr. Lewis, why is it that you have told the committee of earlier occupations of yourself in connection with church endeavors but when I began to ask you about recent employments you refused to answer? What could be your reason for doing that?

Dr. LEWIS. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been engaged in the publishing business?

Dr. LEWIS. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why are you smiling?

Dr. LEWIS. Because you smiled at me, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. No, not until I returned your smile.

Dr. LEWIS. I can't exactly explain it, but you——

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let us put——

Dr. LEWIS. I don't mean any dishonor to the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't attribute it to that.

Dr. LEWIS. Or any——

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't attribute it as that. I attribute it as an anticipation on your part of my next question.

Dr. LEWIS. Thank you.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us not disappoint him or the committee and ask him the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. You went on a recent trip to Cuba, did you not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you get permission to go to Cuba?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. JOHANSEN. How recently was that?

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe it was in August 1961, and I wonder where the report is of that broadcast?

I trust the committee will bear with me. I think I have enough reference to it here.

The staff has procured a transcript of a TV interview on the program of Tom Duggan in which you were the guest. That occurred on March 1, 1961, did it not?

Mr. SCHERER. Where?

Mr. TAVENNER. In Los Angeles.

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. You appeared at a later date at Channing Hall in Los Angeles to make a report of your experiences in Cuba; did you not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce in evidence a copy of a flier, and ask it be marked Lewis Exhibit No. 3, entitled "Castro's Cuba, As It Looks Now. An Eyewitness Report by Dr. A. J. Lewis, Executive Secretary, Greater Los Angeles Chapter, Fair Play for Cuba Committee, just returned from Cuba, Friday, September 22."

Mr. DOYLE. It will be so received and so marked.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did appear and make the speech that was advertised in this flier, did you not?

Dr. LEWIS. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated. (For "Lewis Exhibit No. 3" see p. 1572.)

Mr. TAVENNER. In the course of the question and answer period which followed your report you were asked the question: "How did you get permission to go to Cuba?"

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not make this statement: "Well, since only journalists are permitted to go I became a journalist"——

Dr. LEWIS. I decline to answer——

Mr. TAVENNER. —"and went for the *Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch*." That is the Negro newspaper with a total circulation of about 45,000, isn't it?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, my first question is, didn't you use the subterfuge of being a journalist in order to get permission to go to Cuba?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. At this very meeting, on September 22, 1961, you were introduced by Mr. Martin Hall, the chairman, were you not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. That's the fellow with the long Communist record, isn't it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. From Germany.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did not Mr. Hall, in the introduction, say:

Thanks to the State Department of the United States, Americans who wanted to go to Cuba couldn't go to see what it was like unless they gave you a stamp showing you represented the best interests of the United States.

They made an exception to reporters and Dr. Lewis became a newspaper man and the State Department had to O.K. his passport.

That's the way you got to Cuba, is it not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Through deceit, treachery, and subterfuge.

Mr. DOYLE. And Hall boasted about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, at this meeting at which you addressed the public, the committee from its investigation has learned that you extolled Castro's Cuba as being the first free country in Latin America.

Are you correctly quoted?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. And in answer to questions from the audience, did you declare that you didn't believe that Castro or any of his officials in high places were ever Communists?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee continue to support Castro and the Cuban Government after December 2, 1961, when Castro publicly announced that he was a "Marxist-Leninist" and would establish a one-party government with a Marxist-Leninist program?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire, at this point, to introduce in evidence a copy of an article from the *Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., December 2, 1961, entitled "Castro Affirms Goal of Communist Cuba"; an article from the December 3, 1961, issue of the *New York Times* entitled "Castro Is Setting Up Party In the Communist Pattern"; and another from the *New York Times* of December 23, 1961, entitled "Castro Affirms He Concealed Marxism-Leninism in Revolt."

Mr. DOYLE. They will be so received and marked.

(Documents marked "Lewis Exhibits Nos. 4A, 4B, and 4C." For "Lewis Exhibit 4B", see p. 1573; "Lewis Exhibits 4A and 4C" retained in committee files.)

Mr. TAVENNER. In the course of your report on September 22, 1961, we are informed that you said: "There will be other free countries like Cuba in Latin America in the near future." Did you make that statement?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you also state that:

The American blockade has made development more difficult, but the Soviet Government has helped to alleviate the problem.

Cuba has solved her petroleum problem due to the help of the Soviet Union.

Cuba will get 100 factories from the Soviet Union and are negotiating for 100 more.

Did you make those statements?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you also make this statement:

This is a democracy that we are not acquainted with in the U.S. In Cuba you can directly voice your opinions against higherups. This isn't like our country where you vote once in a while, but never get to criticize an official to his face. This is a fine type of democracy! Cuba is the only country in the world where this exists. We need more democracies like this. The Cuban Government wants the people to know everything that is going on. This is one aspect of democracy in Cuba.

Are you correctly quoted?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. A prostitution of high educational attainments.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I certainly never heard anything like it.

Mr. SCHERER. I wonder what motivates a person with an educational attainment of this witness to say something like that to the American people. It must be something more.

Mr. Chairman, what is the definition of treason? Aid and comfort to the enemy? That must be in time of a shooting war, though, isn't it? We haven't yet applied that definition to the cold war, have we?

Mr. DOYLE. No. But we are surely in a cold war. It gets pretty hot sometimes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, the date of this lecture was September, I believe?

Mr. TAVENNER. September 22.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Has the pronouncement of Mr. Castro of his own dedication to Marxism-Leninism, and to communism and to the development of Cuba as a Communist state, in any way altered your finding and judgment that he is not and has never been a Communist?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Lewis, did you conclude your remarks on September 22, 1961, with this statement:

It made me sick to think of the dirty American bankers who would destroy what the Cuban People now have. I made up my mind that I would do everything to prevent the destruction of this fine, new democracy.

Did you make that statement?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. DOYLE. Does it show, Mr. Tavenner, on any of these documents where any of these lectures were allegedly given or was that in the flier that was introduced? Is that one and the same?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. This was the meeting that was held at Channing Hall, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, on Friday, September 22, at 8 p.m.

Mr. DOYLE. West Eighth Street?

Mr. TAVENNER. West Eighth Street.

Mr. DOYLE. Isn't that the auditorium of the First Unitarian Church?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. May I inquire, Dr. Lewis, the flier address—218 West Eighth?

Mr. WHEELER. 2936 West Eighth.

Mr. DOYLE. That building is a part of the First Unitarian Church, of which the Reverend Stephen Fritchman is pastor, is it not? Although on the flier it doesn't say it is part of the church. But isn't that the address that this flier relates to?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask our investigator, Mr. Chairman, what is at that address?

Mr. WHEELER. The First Unitarian Church is located at 2936 West Eighth Street.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the address given on the flier?

Mr. WHEELER. That is the address given on the flier.

Mr. SCHERER. The same as Stephen Fritchman's church?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. He is well known as a supporter of Communist enterprises, is he not?

Mr. WHEELER. He is quite well known, yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Lewis, does the Socialist Workers Party continue to disagree with the Soviet Communist leadership and the Communist Party of the United States on ideological matters and practical policies for achieving a world Communist system?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. In addition to lectures what other activities does the Fair Play for Cuba Committee engage in to assist the Cuban Government?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does it not sponsor tours to Cuba with a special emphasis on attracting college students?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does it not distribute pro-Castro literature and films, engage in fund-raising appeals, conduct rallies, street demonstrations and picket lines?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. In April, 1961, the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee organized picket lines before the Federal Building in Los Angeles as its part in a nationwide protest against the Cuban invasion, did it not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you participate in those demonstrations?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the—or, the answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Didn't Mr. Tavenner say the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been participating in the picketing of this Federal Building and these very hearings?

Mr. TAVENNER. Oh, yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Maybe the witness could tell us something about his part in the picketing of these hearings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. LEWIS. Is that a question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Will you tell the committee what part you played in the picketing now being conducted outside of this building by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence and ask it be marked as Lewis Exhibit No. 5 a letter on the stationery of Fair Play for Cuba Committee bearing date as late as April 1962, signed by Martin Hall, chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, outlining the action that is to be taken in connection with the picketing of these hearings.

May it be admitted in evidence?

Mr. DOYLE. It may be, and marked as an exhibit.

(For "Lewis Exhibit No. 5" see p. 1576.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to offer in evidence a photograph taken of the demonstration before the Federal Building by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on April 22, 1961, and ask that it be marked "Lewis Exhibit No. 6."

(For "Lewis Exhibit No. 6" see p. 1520.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the photograph, Dr. Lewis, and state whether the person in the center of the photograph wearing a cap is you?

Mr. DOYLE. Let the record show that counsel and the witness are examining the photograph, the exhibit handed to them for examination.

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look at the photograph again, please, and state what you were doing?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it a fact that you were remonstrating with an officer because you wanted to make a speech on Federal property and they wouldn't let you?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. And didn't you go and get the person who appears to be accompanying you, Mr. Leo Gallagher, an attorney, to come and assist you in asserting a right to speak on the Federal property?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I make this observation: I have just finished reading this letter, which has been marked and admitted in evidence from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, with reference to participating in the demonstrations against this committee at these very hearings; and it certainly borders on incitement to riots.

Mr. DOYLE. Is that the letter dated April 1962?

Mr. SCHERER. It is.

Mr. DOYLE. With reference to Exhibit No. 6 in which the gentleman in the center of the picture wearing a cap standing in the presence of an officer as described by counsel, holding up three fingers of his left hand, I submit it is my opinion that the witness and this man in the photograph are one and the same.

Mr. SCHERER. No question about it.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I concur.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to return to consideration of Exhibit No. 5. I note, Doctor, that in this letter by Martin Hall, obviously issued in April 1962, this language appears: "At this date, a number of Fair Play members have been subpoenaed including: Steve Roberts, West Coast director; Dr. A. J. Lewis, former Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles chapter."

Mr. SCHERER. And on the letterhead it shows this witness as the executive secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Were you removed from the position of executive secretary shortly before you were served with a subpoena in this hearing?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were no longer the executive secretary of this organization at the date the subpoena was served, which was the 12th day of April 1962?¹

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask, Dr. Lewis, have you resigned from the position of executive secretary?

Dr. LEWIS. I decline to state on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Lewis, a meeting of the National Advisory Council of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, representing chapters from all over the country, met in Cleveland, Ohio, on October 14 and 15, 1961; did it not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did not this National Advisory Council issue an appeal to the American people to "wire or write the President," "your representatives in Congress," "your newspapers and your radio and television stations" to protest any effort by the United States Government in the future which would "crush the independence of Cuba"?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Student Council of the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee declared in October 1960 that it was "urgent" that student chapters of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee be established "on every college campus in the United States" to rally Americans behind a "firm policy of Hands Off Cuba."

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many college chapters have been set up in southern California?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has observed from the annual report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the fiscal year 1961 that "FBI investigations also have shown that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been heavily infiltrated by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party and these parties have actually organized some chapters of the committee."

Members of the Socialist Workers Party controlled the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee; did they not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. With a good sprinkling of Communists involved, it is obvious from looking at the letterhead.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Soviet Union has recognized Cuba as a member of the Communist family of nations and even ranks Cuba ahead of Yugoslavia, is that not correct?²

¹ Shortly after interrogating Dr. Lewis, the committee learned that Dr. Lewis had also resigned from the Socialist Workers Party at about the same time that he left his position as executive secretary of the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

² Each year the Soviet Union issues a series of propaganda slogans for use in the celebration of May Day. It also employs the occasion to convey its "fraternal greetings" to other Communist-dominated nations within the so-called Soviet bloc. The Soviet Union's proclamations for May Day 1962, printed in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* of April 15, 1962, carried fraternal greetings to the following nations in this order: Communist China, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, North Vietnam, East Germany, North Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, and Yugoslavia.

The nations appeared in Russian alphabetical order with the exceptions of China and Cuba. In view of her preeminent power, China has understandably been elevated to the head of the list, although she rates sixth place in any strict alphabetical listing. Cuba, however, would have been eighth if the alphabet were followed, and thirteenth and last if her position had been determined by the fact that she is the newest member of the Soviet bloc. The ranking of Cuba in twelfth place, ahead of Yugoslavia, must therefore be interpreted as a calculated decision by the Soviet Communist leadership.

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer——

Mr. TAVENNER. The Communist Party of the United States and the Socialist Workers Party have united on the issue of supporting the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with reference to Cuba; has it not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I had a great deal to put in evidence at this point with regard to the history of the Socialist Workers Party, the united front line adopted by the Soviet Communist Party at its 20th Congress, and also the latest statements of Farrell Dobbs, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, all of which show combined activity on this issue by those two organizations—the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party—but if I go into these matters we will not have time for many other witnesses that have been subpoenaed.

However, I would like to offer in evidence as Lewis Exhibit No. 7 a photograph of Dr. Lewis taking part in the April 22, 1961, Fair Play for Cuba picketing demonstrations, and also Paul Perlin, who is carrying a banner of some description. May it be received in evidence?

Mr. DOYLE. May the record show that the witness is observing the photograph, and counsel also, and the exhibit is authorized to be marked and received in evidence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the picture appearing in the left of the photograph a picture of you, Doctor——

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer——

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment——

Dr. LEWIS. Previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. —and is the picture of the other individual to your right carrying a placard, a photograph of Paul Perlin?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

(For "Lewis Exhibit No. 7" see p. 1584.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, Paul Perlin has been identified by witnesses as a member of the Communist Party. He appeared before this committee on October 6, 1952, refused to answer questions, relying upon the fifth amendment as the reason for his refusal.

Mr. DOYLE. Let us view it. Committee members, view this exhibit with me, please.

Mr. Scherer, what is your opinion as to this picture in the front?

Mr. SCHERER. The picture on the photograph is that of the witness before us.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Johansen?

Mr. JOHANSEN. And I concur.

Mr. DOYLE. So do I.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I have a series of photographs, designed to show participation in Fair Play for Cuba Committee picket demonstrations by recognized members or close associates of the Communist Party in this area, as well as by members of the Socialist Workers Party.

As Lewis Exhibit No. 8, a picture showing a demonstration on April 15, 1961, showing Charles Mosley in the right front of the picture.

Charles Mosley was active in the Labor Youth League, American-Russian Institute, and the Civil Rights Congress. He was a delegate to the First Convention of the Communist Party, Southern California District, in 1957, according to the committee's investigation.

On September 4, 1958, he refused to answer questions before this committee and gave the fifth amendment as his reason for refusal.

I have a photograph, which I would like to introduce as Lewis Exhibit No. 9, of the April 19, 1961 demonstration, showing the witness, Beverly Radcliffe, who testified today.

As Lewis Exhibit No. 10, a photograph of the April 19, 1961 demonstration, showing in the right-hand corner, the picture of William Hathaway who, according to investigation by our staff, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Hathaway was a candidate for the Board of Education on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in April 1961.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In Los Angeles?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. The individual on the left of the photograph is Steve Roberts, who is subpoenaed and will be heard as the next witness, and who is an official of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

A photograph of Don Matsuda, who appeared yesterday as a witness, and who was a delegate to the Communist Party Southern California District Conventions in 1957 and 1959-1960, is Lewis Exhibit No. 11.

Lewis Exhibit No. 12 is a photograph of Vincent Fraga in the demonstration on April 19, 1961; he is the person with glasses.

May I ask the witness, do you know whether Vincent Fraga was a member of the District Committee of the Communist Party for the Southern California District?

Dr. LEWIS. I decline to answer on the grounds previously mentioned.

(For "Lewis Exhibits Nos. 8-12" see pp. 1583, 1585, 1521, 1583 and 1582 respectively.)

Mr. TAVENNER. We have evidence, Mr. Chairman, that he was, and that he was elected as alternate delegate to the Communist Party National Convention in December 1959.

Was Mr. Fraga active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. When attempting to make service upon this man, committee investigators learned that he, Fraga, had defected to Cuba.

The next photograph, which is Lewis Exhibit No. 13, was also taken at the demonstration of April 19, 1961; on the left of the photograph is a picture of Martin Hall, and in the center, Rose Chernin Kunitz. Testimony received by the committee describes activity by both of these individuals.

Rose Chernin Kunitz also was a Smith Act defendant, convicted in 1952 and acquitted by reversal of the conviction by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Lewis Exhibit No. 14 is a photograph taken at the April 19, 1961, demonstration; it also was introduced as Large Exhibit No. 1. Harriet Blair, who appears on the right of the photograph wearing a sweater, was in attendance at the Second Convention of the Communist Party's Southern California District where she was named to the District Committee of the party. To the left of the photograph appears Robert Large, who invoked the fifth amendment this afternoon and is carrying a placard in this parade.

Mr. DOYLE. Does this give the residence of Harriet Blair? Where does she live?

Mr. WHEELER. I believe, Mr. Chairman, she lives in the city of Commerce.

Mr. DOYLE. Los Angeles County?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Lewis Exhibit No. 15 is a photograph of Rose Rosenberg, wearing dark glasses, at the demonstration of April 22, 1961. She has been identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Lewis Exhibit No. 16 is a picture of Paul Rosenstein, who was a witness before the committee yesterday; he is pictured at the demonstration conducted on April 19, 1961.

Lewis Exhibit No. 17 is a photograph of Lillian Carlson in the left-hand corner of the picture. Lillian Carlson was one of the persons who, according to the record introduced before this committee in 1958, resigned from the Communist Party on March 26, 1958. Although—I do not recall accurately from memory—there was something in the letter of resignation indicating a continued intention to work for a Communist system in the United States.

The next photograph, which is Lewis Exhibit No. 18, is a picture of a demonstration on April 15, 1961. It is a photograph of Dorothy Healey.

The next exhibit is a photograph of the demonstration of April 19, 1961, showing Dan Bessie at the left of the photograph. He was a delegate to the Second District Convention, first session, of the Southern California Communist Party. He appeared before the committee on October 20, 1959, and refused to answer questions. He has been very active in Communist Party youth movements. This is Lewis Exhibit No. 19.

Lewis Exhibit No. 20 is a photograph of Rosalind Lindesmith, wearing glasses, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party before this committee.

Lewis Exhibit No. 21 is a photograph made at the demonstration of April 19, 1961, of Abraham Maymudes who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Lewis Exhibit No. 22 is a photograph showing in the right-hand corner Diamond Kim, and in the left, Ben Dobbs. Ben Dobbs testified before the committee on April 24, 1962, and evidence has been received showing he is executive secretary of the Communist Party in Southern California.

Diamond Kim is a Korean-born alien. After an unsuccessful court challenge of a deportation order against him, he voluntarily left the United States early in 1962 and took up residence in Communist Czechoslovakia. He had appeared as a witness before the committee on June 28, 1955, at which time he was interrogated regarding his role as editor of the *Korean Independence*, a Korean-English newspaper in Los Angeles, which was exclusively a vehicle of Communist propaganda. Communist Party documents indicated Mr. Kim had been in communication with the North Korean Communist government and that his newspaper address was used as a mail drop for communications between the North Korean government and west coast Communists. He refused to answer questions concerning such activities on grounds of possible self-incrimination.

The next photograph, Lewis Exhibit No. 23, has a picture of Sarah Dorner participating in the demonstration of April 19, 1961. Sarah Dorner, who is in the extreme right-hand corner, is the lady wearing a light coat. She has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in an executive session of this committee.

The next photograph of the demonstration on April 19, 1961, Lewis Exhibit No. 24, shows Sophie Silver, the person on the extreme left

with a checkered blouse. She appeared before this committee on September 4, 1958, and refused to testify, relying on the fifth amendment. She was a delegate to the Second District Convention of the Communist Party in Southern California.

Lewis Exhibit No. 25 is a photograph of the demonstration on April 19, 1961. The lady on the right is Celeste Strack, one-time official of the California State organization of the Communist Party, who has resigned from the party because of a factional dispute, but who has stated she will still strive to bring "socialism" to the United States.

Lewis Exhibit No. 26 is a photograph of the demonstration of April 19, 1961, showing, in the left-hand corner, Shirley Taylor, who has been identified as being active in past years in the Communist Party in the District of Columbia.

Lewis Exhibit No. 27 is a photograph of the demonstration of April 19, 1961, showing Irving Goff, Communist Party functionary, who has been identified before this committee as having been previously active in the party in New York and New Orleans.

Lewis Exhibit No. 28 is a photograph of the demonstration of April 19, 1961, showing, in the left-hand part of the picture, J. C. Coleman, who has been identified in executive testimony before this committee as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Chairman, may those exhibits be received in evidence?

Mr. DOYLE. They may all be accepted in evidence and marked as exhibits.

(For "Lewis Exhibits Nos. 13 through 28," inclusive, see pp. 1521 and 1580-1585.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Lewis, was Ann Snipper your secretary while you were executive secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ann Snipper is also the director of the West Coast Vacation School, is she not?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or, at least, she was on June 30, 1957; isn't that correct?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time she was secretary for you she was a director of this school which was the school of the Socialist Workers Party; is that correct?

Dr. LEWIS. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer in evidence, and have it marked as Lewis Exhibit No. 29, a letter of Ann Snipper bearing date of June 30, 1957, and I desire to point out that the address given for the West Coast Vacation School is the address of the Socialist Workers Party.

Mr. DOYLE. It will be marked and received.

(For "Lewis Exhibit No. 29" see p. 1578.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, that concludes my interrogation.

Mr. DOYLE. Any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I have just two or three questions.

Mr. TAVENNER, do you have a copy of that public address at Channing Hall? I would like the portions referred to, the language—

Mr. TAVENNER. What portion, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. JOHANSEN. The portion in which he expressed his determination, as I recall it, to do everything within his power to prevent the "dirty bankers" from destroying this great "democracy" in Cuba.

Well, let us skip that. Mr. Witness, these statements which have been quoted indicated that you are very much dedicated and devoted to the cause of the regime now in control of Cuba to the point of saying that:

It makes me sick to think of the dirty American bankers who would destroy what the Cuban People now have. I made up my mind that I would do everything to prevent the destruction of this fine, new democracy.

Could that go to the point of defection?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In the event that it developed that this country became engaged in a military action in Cuba, would you, in any way, shape, or manner, seek to obstruct such action and its successful prosecution?

Dr. LEWIS. Decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Doctor, I can't quickly refer to your exact words or the language which is alleged to have been yours in this, but I do remember with considerable shock to myself that as it was read it alleged to be a quote of yours—reference to criticisms of the functioning of our manner of government in the United States—that you couldn't criticize the public officials, couldn't get to them, and so forth, and couldn't vote, and it occurred to me that by your side, your own legal counsel, when he was an officer in State office in California, it wasn't hard to meet and to know, to approach and to criticize. I thought I would say that to you. I think your own legal counsel, many years ago, was a direct contradiction to the statement that you made, if you made it.

Now, I just want to register my vigorous opinion that if you made that condemnation of our form of government, I am not only shocked, but as a public official, I can't help but say that I think your appraisal is radically in error and untrue.

I have no questions of the witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have an exhibit I omitted.

Mr. DOYLE. All right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce into evidence and have marked as Lewis Exhibit No. 30, the transcript of the interview on the Tom Duggan Show on March 1, 1961, in which the witness took part.

Mr. DOYLE. It will be received and so marked.

(Document marked "Lewis Exhibit No. 30" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. DOYLE. I have no further questions, Counsel, and Witness.

Mr. KENNEY. May the witness be excused?

Mr. DOYLE. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. DOYLE. May the record show that the committee recessed at 6:10 p.m. to convene at 8 a.m. tomorrow.

(Whereupon, at 6:10 p.m. Thursday, April 26, 1962, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene Friday, April 27, 1962, at 8 a.m.)

COMMUNIST AND TROTSKYIST ACTIVITY WITHIN THE GREATER LOS ANGELES CHAPTER OF THE FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Los Angeles, California.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met at 8 a.m., pursuant to recess, in Room 519, United States Federal Building, Honorable Clyde Doyle (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Clyde Doyle, of California; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Doyle, Tuck, and Johansen.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., director, and William A. Wheeler, investigator.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Roberts, will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROBERTS. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Please be seated.

Let the record show that the committee convened this morning at 8:15, with Congressmen Tuck, of Virginia; Johansen, of Michigan; and Doyle, of California, three of the five members of the subcommittee; therefore, a quorum is present.

TESTIMONY OF STEVE ROBERTS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ROBERT W. KENNY

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please, sir?

Mr. ROBERTS. My name is Steve Roberts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness please identify himself for the record?

Mr. KENNY. Yes. Robert W. Kenny, Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Roberts?

Mr. ROBERTS. I was born in New York City in 1898.

¹ Released by the committee and ordered to be printed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. ROBERTS. At 2233 Scott Avenue, Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a resident of Los Angeles?

Mr. ROBERTS. Since 1934.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, a brief statement of your formal educational training?

Mr. ROBERTS. I should like to decline to answer that question on the basis of my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Roberts, it appears from a newsletter, signed by Martin Hall, that you were and are the west coast representative of the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Is that correct?

Mr. ROBERTS. I should like to decline that on the same basis, going to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have that position today in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. ROBERTS. I should like to decline to answer that, the same basis.

Mr. DOYLE. May I suggest, if counsel has no objection, that instead of saying you should like to, that you do refuse, or do decline?

Mr. KENNY. Yes, just omit the words "should like."

Mr. ROBERTS. I do.

I thought it had the same meaning.

Mr. DOYLE. True.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1956 were you a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of its Executive Committee now?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1956, were you a member of the Trade Union Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you on that committee at this time?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold any position at this time as a functionary of the Socialist Workers Party, that is, in the Los Angeles branch?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you the same Steve Roberts who was a candidate for Governor of California on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1946?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer in evidence a flier, advertising an election rally, and ask it be marked Roberts Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. DOYLE. It will be so received and marked.

(For "Roberts Exhibit No. 1" see p. 1579.)

Mr. ROBERTS. May I, Mr. Chairman, see that, please?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, certainly.

Let the record show that the counsel and witness are examining the flier that was offered in evidence, inspection of which was requested by the witness.

Mr. ROBERTS. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you the campaign manager for Farrell Dobbs, who was running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for a national office in 1960?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Roberts, what is the interest of the Socialist Workers Party in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has there been any agreement between the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles and the Communist Party in Los Angeles, regarding activities of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. ROBERTS. Will you kindly repeat that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Has there been any agreement for cooperation between the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles and the Communist Party in Los Angeles for carrying on the work of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, on April 22, 1961, participate in a picket line in Los Angeles, sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. ROBERTS. I am sorry, I don't quite place the date. Can you tell me what the circumstances were?

Mr. TAVENNER. On April 22, 1961, there was a picket line in front of the Federal Building here in Los Angeles, sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Did you participate in that demonstration?

Mr. ROBERTS. I don't recall the date. Is there anything else?

Mr. TAVENNER. April 22?

Mr. ROBERTS. I mean, I don't quite get the occasion. Do you have anything to clarify my mind in that regard?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the committee has information that Mr. Roberts participated in a demonstration on April 22 and also picketed in another Fair Play for Cuba demonstration on April 19. A photograph depicting Mr. Roberts' participation in the demonstration on April 19 was offered in evidence as Lewis Exhibit No. 10, and I hand the exhibit to the witness to see if it will in any way refresh his recollection regarding either of these Fair Play for Cuba demonstrations to which I have referred.

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, the photograph does refresh your recollection?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. DOYLE. I will ask the other members of the subcommittee to join me in inspecting this exhibit.

Mr. JOHANSEN. No question he is the person on the left, the witness.

Mr. TUCK. I concur in that.

Mr. DOYLE. The photograph on the left is clearly Mr. Witness in the chair, and the other person, the other man in the picture our counsel says is William Hathaway, is carrying a sign on which only the word "Revolution!" is visible. A portion of someone else's sign appearing in the picture contains the words "are pro-Castro," and someone behind Mr. Roberts, the witness, is carrying a sign that says in part, "The Cuban people support Castro."

It has been marked as an exhibit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the photograph, Lewis Exhibit 10 handed to you, contain a picture of you?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Governor Tuck?

Mr. TUCK. I have no questions.

Mr. JOHANSEN. No questions.

Mr. DOYLE. I have one question.

Mr. Roberts, our counsel asked you whether or not there was an agreement between the Communist Party in Los Angeles and the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles, with reference to operating together in support of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, or its program.

Do you remember that question, and you declined to answer?

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, I declined to answer the question there. I am not too sure that it was the same question.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to direct one question to you after you sign that voucher.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to ask several other questions.

Mr. ROBERTS. I beg your pardon, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. That's all right.

That, some day will get you good U.S. currency [indicating witness' travel voucher].

Mr. ROBERTS. What day is that?

Mr. DOYLE. Well, takes a week or two or three.

Mr. ROBERTS. Is that set down?

Mr. DOYLE. For your witness fees.

May I conclude this one question while I have it in my mind?

Even though there may not be an express agreement of any sort between the two parties officially, is there an operating cooperation between the two groups, just by mutual understanding of your leaders and your respective groups?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Roberts, the official organ of the Socialist Workers Party is *The Militant*, is it not?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since Khrushchev's rise to power and his denunciation of Stalin, and call for a united front of all Socialists, there has been a drastic change, has there not, in the relationship between the orthodox Communist Party and the Trotskyite Communist organization, the Socialist Workers Party, isn't that correct?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the same basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Writing in *The Militant*, the official publication of the Socialist Workers Party, in the issue of April 20, 1959, the leader of the Socialist Workers Party, Farrell Dobbs, stated:

The great advances that have been made in China, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe should inspire every American socialist.

Are you familiar with that statement by Mr. Dobbs?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. The 1960 election platform of the Socialist Workers Party contained the following statements:

* * * more and more people in the world today feel that they must oppose America's belligerent foreign aims and support the Soviet bloc * * *.

Does the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles adhere to that statement?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is further stated in the Socialist Workers Party platform of 1960:

The sputniks orbiting overhead are daily reminders of what a daring, energetic and forward-looking people can accomplish through revolution and a planned economy.

You supported that platform, did you not?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were actually the State manager for Mr. Dobbs when he was running for national office on that very platform, weren't you?

Mr. ROBERTS. I must decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Another statement from the 1960 platform:

* * * the Soviet Union appears as a living example of how to achieve industrialization without waiting for aid that may never arrive from the cruel North American power.

Are you familiar with that?

Mr. ROBERTS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. TAVENNER. I say, do you recall that as a statement contained in the platform?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Returning now to the article that I first mentioned, by Mr. Dobbs, appearing in *The Militant*, we find this stated:

Since the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin, critical thought has experienced an upsurge among former supporters of Communist Party policy. Fraternal discussion among socialists has led to joint actions on points of common agreement. Cooperation has led to united socialist election campaigns in opposition to both Democrats and Republicans.

Now, is one of those joint actions being taken now in Los Angeles by the Communist Party of the United States and the Socialist Workers Party, support for the extension of Soviet power to this hemisphere, particularly by supporting the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in this hemisphere?

Mr. ROBERTS. Are you quoting, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir, I was asking you if, in addition to what I have read to you from the party platform on which Dobbs was running, and for which you were the State campaign manager, there is a common agreement for joint action between the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party of the United States in Los Angeles, to advocate and promote the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in this hemisphere, namely, Cuba?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Another indication of the changing relationship between Trotskyites and orthodox Communists in recent years is their willingness to appear on the same public platform. Is it not true that in 1957, Myra Tanner Weiss, who had been vice presidential candidate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, spoke at a rally at the City College of New York, and at the same time, on the same platform, appeared: Joseph Clark, the foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*, a Communist; Eric Haas, representative of the Socialist Labor Party; and Michael Harrington, the national chairman of the Young Socialist League; you are aware that that took place, are you not?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you not agree that that is an indication of the existence of a common agreement of these two branches of the Communist movement to cooperate with each other?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of this hearing the committee has learned of the great emphasis placed by the Communist Party, both the national and local organization, on support of the *People's World* policy of a united-front approach to matters in which the Communist Party is interested.

That was a great issue before the Second Convention of the Southern California District of the Communist Party. There was some difference of opinion expressed, but finally there was a resolution adopted, supporting and affirming the position of the National Committee of the Communist Party, approving the united-front line that was being taken by the *People's World*.

Now, with that introductory statement to you, I want to call your attention to this fact: the Spring 1958 issue of the Trotskyite *International Socialist Review* outlined plans for uniting Socialists of various kinds behind certain candidates in the 1958 elections.

The article contained the following statement, and I quote:

In Seattle, Jack Wright, a well-known figure in local radical labor circles' recently finished a vigorous campaign on the Socialist Workers platform. His supporters included Vincent Hallinan, Terry Pettus and Local 158 of the International Molders and Foundry Workers.

Now, the significant thing that I want you to consider is this further statement:

"The People's World," which ordinarily reflects the views of the Communist Party, broke a thirty-year tradition of that party by joining in the campaign and offering editorial support to a "Trotskyist" candidate.

Is that not further indication of the common understanding existing between the two branches of the Communist movement, namely: The Communist Party of the United States and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party?

Mr. ROBERTS. I must decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. The December 8, 1958 issue of *The Militant*, weekly organ of the Socialist Workers Party, reported on a Cleveland conference held for the purpose of uniting various "socialist" elements against Republicans and Democrats in the 1960 elections.

According to this article appearing in *The Militant*, the Socialist Workers Party, the orthodox Communist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, and various other Socialists took part in this conference.

Does that not also indicate a common intent between the two branches of the Communist movement we have been discussing to cooperate on certain issues?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, since we are on this subject, I'd like to call to the witness' attention some facts from the Communist side of the picture, of which I believe this witness, because of his important position, would likely have some knowledge.

Do you not agree that in order to launch a united front movement by the Communist Party in the United States, and elsewhere in the world, it was necessary to heal the breach that existed between the old Stalinists and the Trotskyites? The old Stalinists in the United States being the orthodox Communist Party, USA, and the Trotskyites being, of course, the Socialist Workers Party. Do you not agree?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am going to read you an excerpt from a report by N. S. Khrushchev to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is as follows:

* * * Unity of the working class, of its trade unions, unity of action of its political parties, the Communists, the Socialists and other workers' parties, is acquiring exceptional importance.

Not a few of the misfortunes harassing the world today result from the fact that in many countries the working class has been split for many years and its various detachments do not present a united front—which only plays into the hands of the reactionary forces. * * * Life has placed on the order of the day many questions which not only demand rapprochement and cooperation among all workers' parties, but also create real possibilities for this cooperation. * * *

* * * The interests of the struggle for peace make it imperative to sweep aside mutual recriminations, find points of contact, and, on these grounds, lay the foundations for cooperation. Cooperation is possible and essential with those circles of the socialist movement which have different views from ours on the forms of transition to socialism. Among them are many who are honestly mistaken on this question, but this is no obstacle to cooperation. Today many Social Democrats stand for active struggle against the war danger and militarism, for rapprochement with the socialist countries, for unity of the workers' movement. We sincerely greet these Social Democrats and are willing to do everything necessary to unite our efforts in the struggle for the noble cause of championing peace and the interests of the working people.

You are familiar with this pronouncement, are you not?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Gus Hall, the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, reported to the National Committee of the Communist Party at a meeting in New York on January 20, 1961, the title of the report being "The United States in Today's World."

At pages 54 and 55 of that report, we find this language:

In essence, united front relations are political. It is a process of joining hands, of uniting forces in struggle around specific issues. That means unity with trade unionists, liberals, socialists, Catholics, people of diverse political opinions or none at all.

Now, aren't you personally, by reason of your membership in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and your activity in that group, aren't you joining hands with the Communist Party of the United States on the issues presented by that group?

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Governor Tuck?

Mr. TUCK. I have no questions.

Mr. JOHANSEN. No questions.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, in view of our distinguished counsel's line of questioning of this witness, it is especially appropriate at this point that I call attention to certain statements by the United States Supreme Court in its decision of June 5, 1961, commonly known as the Registration Decision, the case of the *Communist Party of the United States of America, Petitioner, v. Subversive Activities Control Board*, 367 U.S. 1. At page 112 of that decision the Supreme Court declared:

First, We have held, *supra*, that the congressional findings that there exists a world Communist movement, that is directed by the Communist dictatorship of a foreign country, and that it has certain designated objectives, *inter alia*, the establishment of a Communist totalitarian dictatorship throughout the world through the medium of a world-wide Communist organization, § 2(1), (4), are not open to re-examination by the Board. We find that nothing in this violates due process.

Then, skipping part of that page for the purpose of brevity, referring to the Subversive Activities Control Board, the Court said:

The Board, construing the statute, concluded that that foreign government was the Soviet Union. We affirm that construction. The statute, then, defines a Communist-action organization in terms of substantial direction, domination, or control by the Soviet Union. The Government offered evidence to show that the Soviet Union substantially directed, dominated, or controlled the Communist Party. The Party had an opportunity to rebut this showing, and it attempted to do so. The Board found that the Government's showing was persuasive.

I submit that in view of our counsel's line of questioning of this witness, the insertion of this part of the Supreme Court decision at this point in the record is illuminating and appropriate.

Mr. JOHANSEN. It is highly apropos.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will stand in recess for a minute or two, while Mr. Tavenner is conferring.

Mr. KENNY. Will you need this witness further?

Mr. DOYLE. Wait a minute.

I beg your pardon then, the witness is excused, Counsel.

(Witness excused.)

* * * * *

Mr. DOYLE. The subcommittee is in recess.

(Whereupon at 4:30 p.m., Friday, April 27, 1962, the subcommittee adjourned the Los Angeles hearings.)

APPENDIX

LEWIS EXHIBIT NO. 1

NEWS RELEASENEWS RELEASE.

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

GREATER LOS ANGELES CHAPTER

1559 Altivo Way

Los Angeles 26, California

Dr. A. J. Lewis, Executive Secretary

Telephone: ND 2-5462

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

A spirited meeting of 125 members of the Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee adopted by acclamation a statement protesting the rupture of diplomatic relations with Cuba and urging the new administration of President-Elect Kennedy to restore diplomatic and friendly ties with Cuba, immediately after the inauguration. Telegrams to this effect were sent to President Eisenhower and President-Elect Kennedy. The officers of the Committee are: Martin Hall, Chairman; Dr. A.J. Lewis, Executive Secretary; Gabriella Huesca, Recording Secretary; and George Davis, Treasurer. Concurring in the statement are Rev. Stephen M. Fritchman, honorary Co-Chairmen of the Committee; A.L. Wirin, attorney; Philip Kirby, publisher; and Steve Roberts, West Coast Representative of the National Fair Play for Cuba Committee. [See enclosures.]

The Fair Play meeting further called upon Congress to investigate immediately the wide-spread reports indiceting that the Central Intelligence Agency is implicated in the training of armed forces for an invasion of Cuba. Persistent reports from Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Floride of invasion forces in these erees being tied to the CIA raise into question U.S. observance of the principle of non-intervention into the domestic affairs of other countries, telegrams to Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn stated in calling for the probe. [See enclosures.]

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is a national organization that came into existence last April with the object of improving relations between the United States and Cuba. The meeting last night completed plans for the public meeting on Sunday, January 22nd, 8:15 PM, at Chenning Hall, 2936 W. 8th Street. Paul Sweazy, visiting professor of economics at Stanford University and recently returned from Cuba, will speak on "The Truth About Cuba, What Reelly Is Happening."

LEWIS EXHIBIT NO. 1 (Continued)

STATEMENT -- adopted unanimously at Fair Play for Cuba meeting, January 6th, 1961

Over 125 members of the Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, meeting on January 6, 1961, protest the sudden decision by the outgoing administration of President Eisenhower to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba. This rash and unprecedented action, taken by an administration which has only two more weeks in office, creates an extremely difficult situation for the incoming administration of President-Elect Kennedy and tends to intensify the anti-U.S. in Latin America.

The Eisenhower policy towards the Cuban government of Dr. Fidel Castro has from the beginning been characterized by a refusal to give the new regime even a minimum of cooperation, long before Cuba, as a result of this attitude on our part, was forced to turn to the Soviet bloc for aid. Not only in much of Latin America, but even in Canada has this policy of ours been rejected.

The decision to break off diplomatic relations with Castro, when we had no objections but, on the contrary, were eager to have close and intimate relations with the brutal, corrupt, and predatory dictatorship of Batista, tends to morally isolate the U.S. even more in the eyes of the world.

We firmly urge and hope that the incoming administration of President-Elect Kennedy, promptly upon taking office, will repudiate this policy of its predecessor and establish anew the traditionally friendly relations between the U.S. and Cuba in the interests of peace and the welfare of the peoples of this hemisphere.

SIGNED:L.A. Chapter Officers:

MARTIN HALL, Chairman
DR. A. J. LEWIS, Exec. Sec'y.
GABRIELA HUESCA, Rec. Sec'y.
GEORGE DAVIS, Treasurer

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHELAN,
Honorary Co-Chairman

* * *

A. L. MIRIN, attorney
PHILIP KIRBY, publisher
STEVE ROBERTS, West Coast
Representative of Nat'l.
Fair Play for Cuba Committee

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 2

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

GREATER LOS ANGELES CHAPTER

P O BOX 26251

LOS ANGELES 26, CALIFORNIA

MAiled Jan 6-2574

L A CHAPTER OFFICERS

MARTIN HALL

Chairman

Dr. A. J. LEWIS

Executive Secretary

GEORGE DAVIS

Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

LEO FRUMKIN

ROSALIE RODRIGUEZ

DEL VARELA

SPONSORS, L. A. CHAPTER

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REV DR STUART BERNARD

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NATIONAL OFFICERS

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Executive Secretary

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ROBERT F WILLIAMS

Dec. 3, 1961

Dear Friend,

The chapter meeting will be Thursday, Dec. 7th at Emerson Hall, 2936 W. Eighth St., 3rd Floor at 8:00 P.M. sharp.

"Is a New Invasion of Cuba Imminent and What Can We Do About It?" will be the trend of an informative report by Chairman Martin Hall. A leaflet incorporating these ideas and protesting U.S. continued arming of counter-revolutionaries is being printed. We need to distribute them immediately and widely. Get some at the meeting and help organize a city-wide demonstration for Saturday, Dec. 9 at noon. Mobilization points are: 3rd and Broadway; 5th and Broadway; 7th and Hill; The Broadway store at Hollywood and Vine; 1st and Rowen; and Jefferson and Central. More details at the chapter meeting. Or call Rosalie Rodriguez PA 2 -4920 for assignments. Or "just show up" Dec. 9 at noon at one of the points.

CHRISTMAS PARTY FOR CUBAN CHILDREN - - Send needed gifts to Cuban children by bringing money donations and/or diapers to the Christmas party on December 15 at 3:00 pm. Money donations will buy medicine to send. Details at meeting.

A new approach for the financing of our organization will be outlined by Del Varela of the Finance Committee. Chapter discussion will determine what policies we will follow in this matter for the next period. Your views are solicited.

Fraternally,

Executive Committee
Greater Los Angeles



LEWIS EXHIBIT NO. 3

CASTRO'S CUBA, AS IT LOOKS NOW

An Eyewitness Report by

DR. A. J. LEWIS

Executive Secretary,
Greater Los Angeles Chapter
Fair Play for Cuba Committee
just returned from Cuba

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22 at 8:00 P.M.

**CHANNING HALL - 2936 West EIGHTH ST.
Los Angeles**

DONATION \$1.00

QUESTION PERIOD

LEWIS EXHIBIT NO. 4-B
[New York Times, December 3, 1961]

Castro Is Setting Up Party In the Communist Pattern

By The Associated Press.

HAVANA, Dec. 2—Premier Fidel Castro said today that he was forming a "united party of Cuba's Socialist revolution," a monolithic organization like the Soviet Communist party with restricted membership.

The Premier made this announcement in a five-hour television speech in which he also acknowledged that he was a Marxist-Leninist and said that he was taking Cuba down the path to communism. He maintained that the world, too, "is on the road toward communism."

[In Washington, the Council of the Organization of American States is expected to decide Monday that there is a pressing need for a conference of foreign ministers on Cuba.]

As to the party, Dr. Castro said that only true revolutionaries would be selected for membership.

Never before had Dr. Castro so frankly placed his island nation in the Communist camp, nor given his own political views so strongly on Marxism.

He gave a hint of what was to come, however, last May Day, when he ruled out elections and called Cuba a Socialist state.

'People's Democracy' Is Aim

Premier Castro said that the united party was being created

as an all-powerful political body to lead Cuba through socialism to "a people's democracy, or the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The new party, he said, "will be a qualitative and not a quantitative organization."

Members will be drawn from workers, students, intellectuals, peasants and even the petty bourgeoisie, Dr. Castro said.

The party program "will be Marxist-Leninist but adapted to conditions existing in our country," he added.

"I am a Marxist-Leninist and will be one until the day I die," Dr. Castro declared in a nationwide television speech that began about midnight.

The speech marked the fifth anniversary of his landing in Cuba to begin his revolt.

Few of the eighty men who came ashore with him Dec. 2, 1956, to begin the fight against Gen. Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship still survive. But they include such key men as his brother Maj. Raul Castro, Armed Forces Minister, and Maj. Ernesto Guevara, his powerful Minister of Industries.

Six months after he seized power from General Batista

Jan. 1, 1959, Premier Castro declared that "ours is not a Communist revolution."

In his latest address, Dr. Castro said that during his years as a student at Havana University he was not a Marxist because he was "influenced by imperialist and reactionary propaganda against the Communist."

By 1953, three years before his invasion of Cuba, his political thinking "was more or less like what it is now," he added. However, he said that it was only after he came to power that he developed into a Marxist-Leninist.

Dr. Castro declared that Cuba must learn from the Soviet Union.

Rejecting neutralism, he said that "there is no half way between socialism and imperialism." "Anyone maintaining a third [neutralist] position is, in fact, helping imperialism," he said.

The Cuban revolution has taken "the only honest road, the road of a Socialist and anti-imperialist revolution," he said.

At one point, Dr. Castro seemed to be talking to anti-Communists who actively backed his revolution, saying jestingly:

"If there is an anti-Communist listening he does not need to worry because there will be no communism [in Cuba] before thirty years."

Dr. Castro joined Premier Khrushchev in denouncing the personality cult or Stalinism, declaring that "it would be absurd for a single man to make government decisions."

The Premier said; "I firmly believe in collective leadership. I have never wanted to be a Caesar."

In a reference to one of his favorite targets, Dr. Castro asserted that the United States

was training guerrilla forces to prevent revolutions similar to Cuba's in other nations of Latin America.

"But in the face of the revolutionary fight of the people," Dr. Castro said, "there are no remedies except the disappearance of the conditions of exploitation."

Castro Says He Hid Belief

HAVANA, Dec. 2 UPI—Premier Castro explained in his speech today that he had hidden his belief in communism from the Cuban people and from his American friends for years "because otherwise we might have alienated the bourgeoisie and other forces which we knew we would eventually have to fight."

Dr. Castro traced the process of the Cuban revolution and encouraged other Latin-American nations to follow his example.

He said that the Cuban experience proved that "just a handful of men can be launched into a fight wherever there are objectives to be reached * * * and that movement, we are sure, will be the spark that will set afire the whole haystack."

Dr. Castro outlined those aims of the revolutionary Marxist movement—the seizure of power by the masses and the destruction of the military apparatus of those who would exploit the workers.

In this connection he attacked President Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela as a man who had adopted "terrorist measures," which included closing Communist clubs and those of the Revolutionary Left Wing and shutting down their newspapers. He praised Admiral Wolfgang Larrazabal, who held power in Venezuela after the dictator,

LEWIS EXHIBIT NO. 4-B (Continued)

Marcos Pérez Jiménez, was ousted and was replaced by Señor Betancourt.

Referring to his policy of keeping secret his belief in Marxism during the early days of the revolution, he said:

"If it were known then that the men who led the guerrilla fighting had radical ideas, well, all those who are making war against us now would have started it right then."

He said that the "first thing for revolutionaries to do, right after winning out, is to smash the machinery of the old regime as I learned by reading Lenin's book, 'State and Revolution.' "

Plan Announced in July

Premier Castro announced in Havana last July 26 that Cuba would eventually have a single political party to construct a Socialist state.

In discussing his plans for the new party, he said that the pro-

cess of unifying existing political organizations would be a gradual one. He declined to set a date for the formation of the new party.

An Integrated Revolutionary Organization was set up to prepare for the merger of the principal revolutionary bodies. Involved in the merger would be the 26th of July Movement, the Popular Socialist (Communist) party and several smaller Left-wing groups.

Premier Castro's description yesterday of the monolithic and restricted nature of the proposed party appeared to go beyond his earlier statements.

Moreover, his statement that Cuba would be taken down the road to communism apparently went beyond any of his previous declarations on the Leftish nature of the Cuban revolution. It has been the practice in Cuba to refer to the revolution as Socialist but to avoid openly calling it Communist.

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 5

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

GREATER LOS ANGELES CHAPTER

P O BOX 26251

LOS ANGELES 26 CALIFORNIA

FAIR PLAY UNDER ATTACK BY HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

MADISON 6 2574

MASS PICKET LINE TUES., APRIL 24, 9 AM at FEDERAL BUILDING

Dear Friend,

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Dr A J LEWIS

Executive Secretary

GEORGE DAVIS

Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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ALAN SAGNER

ROBERT F WILLIAMS

If you have noticed a bad odor drifting in from the east, it is only the approach of the House Un-American Activities Committee inquisitors who will open a new series of "hearings" on Tues., April 24, 9:00 a.m. at the Federal Building. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been selected as one of the victims for this round, along with a number of civil liberties, student and labor organizations and some individuals. Approximately 48 subpoenas have been served and this figure may rise to 60. At this date, a number of Fair Play members have been subpoenaed including: Steve Roberts, West Coast director; Dr. A.J. Lewis, former Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles chapter.

All organizations directly concerned are, of course, making preparations to defend themselves. However, very encouraging news is that the intended victims will not be abandoned to fend for themselves. First, the Southern California chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union has adopted the fight as its own and has offered to provide legal counsel for all subpoenaed individuals.

Second, a student protest movement, initiated by an ad hoc committee, is meeting with an astonishing response. What was intended as a small planning meeting snowballed into a rally of more than 300 students representing colleges and schools from the entire Southern California area. In a spirit of great enthusiasm they decided to call for a massive picket line Tues., 9 a.m. at the Federal Building coinciding with the opening of the hearing. Word has been received that contingents of students will converge on the Federal Building from San Francisco and San Diego.

Numerous other organizations are also planning to picket and all signs indicate that a broad movement is gathering which could culminate in the most significant demonstration of public protest against reaction which this city has seen in many years.

Our organization, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, will of course throw our full weight into the contest both to defend our own rights which are directly under attack, and as part of the general united fight-back against the HUAC and similar thought control institutions.

The executive committee of the FPCC, meeting in emergency session, decided on the following measures:

- 1- Issue a press release presenting our public response to this invasion of our rights.
- 2- Conduct the widest campaign of public education commensurate with our resources.

LEWIS EXHIBIT NO. 5 (Continued)

- 3- Participate as an independent organization in the general picket line-demonstration outside the Federal Building for the entire duration of the hearings with appropriate banners, leaflets, etc.
- 4- Raise a fund to enable the maximum implementation of the above measures, and to defray possible legal costs. We regret to report that we have virtually no funds available at this time. The extent of our efforts will be determined entirely by the response received from this urgent appeal. Please rush your contributions immediately!!

Fraternally,

Martin Hall,

Martin Hall, Chairman
Fair Play for Cuba Com.

ml:/ms

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 29

WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL

JUNE 30, 1957

DEAR FRIEND:

WE ARE HAPPY TO ANNOUNCE THAT PLANS ARE UNDERWAY FOR THE 1957 SESSION OF THE WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL, HELD EACH YEAR DURING THE LABOR DAY WEEK.

THE VACATION SCHOOL, CONDUCTED ON A COOPERATIVE, INTERRACIAL BASIS, WILL CONTINUE THE TRADITION OF PREVIOUS YEARS BY PROVIDING A PERIOD OF RELAXATION, EDUCATION AND COMRADESHIP, AS WELL AS AIDING THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIST REGROUPMENT.

A COMPLETE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM IS NOW IN PREPARATION. NATIONALLY RENOWNED SPEAKERS WILL PRESENT MARXIST ANALYSES OF NATIONAL AND WORLD PROBLEMS.

THE VACATION SCHOOL HAS SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE; EXCELLENT FOOD, SWIMMING, HIKING, MUSIC, DANCING, BARBECUES, GROUP SINGING, SKITS AND JUST PLAIN LOAFING. IT IS HELD AT THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CAMP IN CARBON CANYON, ONLY 30 MILES FROM LOS ANGELES.

THE WEEK OPENS WITH THE EVENING MEAL ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, AND ENDS WITH LUNCH ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, EIGHT DAYS IN ALL. IF YOU ARE UNABLE TO STAY FOR THE WEEK, PLAN TO SPEND ONE OR BOTH WEEK-ENDS AT THE CAMP.

THE RATES ARE LOW--FOR A TOTAL OF 8 DAYS AND 24 MEALS: ADULTS (FROM 16), \$42.50; JUNIORS (12-15), \$30.00; CHILDREN (5-11), \$20.00; SMALL FRY (1-4), \$10.00. DAILY RATES ARE ALSO LOW: ADULTS, \$6.50; JUNIORS, \$4.00; CHILDREN \$3.00 AND SMALL FRY, \$1.50.

FOR RESERVATIONS WRITE TO THE WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL, 1702 EAST FOURTH STREET, LOS ANGELES 33, CALIFORNIA OR TELEPHONE, ANGELUS 9-4953 OR NORMANDY 3-0387.

FRATERNALLY YOURS,

Ann Snipper
ANN SNIPPER,
DIRECTOR.

ROBERTS EXHIBIT No. 1

ELECTION RALLY



Steve Roberts and Cynthia Rogalin, Socialist Workers Party write in candidate for Governor of California and State Senator from Los Angeles County.

STOP G. L. K. Smith In California!

California is a testing ground in the fight of the American capitalist class against the workers. It is to California that they have sent their arch race-baiter, anti-labor Gerald L. K. Smith, to spearhead their fight against Proposition No. 11, the proposed Fair Employment Practice act, and the union closed shop which the chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations and real estate boards are determined to defeat and destroy regardless of cost.

Hear:

STEVE ROBERTS, Socialist Workers Party candidate for **GOVERNOR**
CYNTHIA ROGALIN, Socialist Workers Party candidate for **STATE SENATOR**
from Los Angeles County:

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29th **8:00 P. M.**
EMBASSY SOUTH HALL - 517 West 9th Street, Los Angeles.

The following photographs were taken at Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee demonstrations staged in front of the Federal Building in Los Angeles on April 15, 19 and 22, 1961.

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 14



Robert Large and Harriet Blair

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 19



Dan Bessie

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 28



J. C. Coleman

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 22



Ben Dobbs and Diamond Kim

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 23



Sarah Dorner

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 27



Irving Goff

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 12



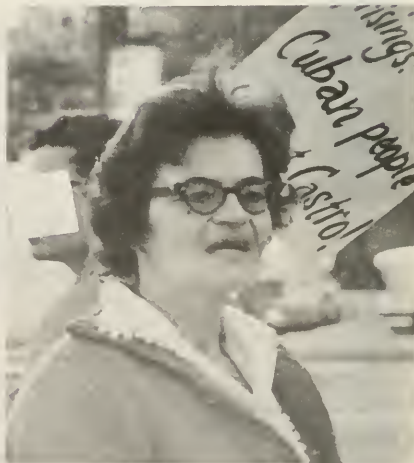
Vincent Fraga

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 18



Dorothy Healey

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 20



Rosalind Lindesmith

LEWIS EXHIBIT NO. 11



Don Matsuda

LEWIS EXHIBIT NO. 8



Charles Mosley

LEWIS EXHIBIT NO. 21



Abraham Maymudes

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 7



Paul Perlin

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 15



Rose Rosenberg

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 16



Paul Rosenstein

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 24



Sophie Silver

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 26



Shirley Taylor

LEWIS EXHIBIT No. 17



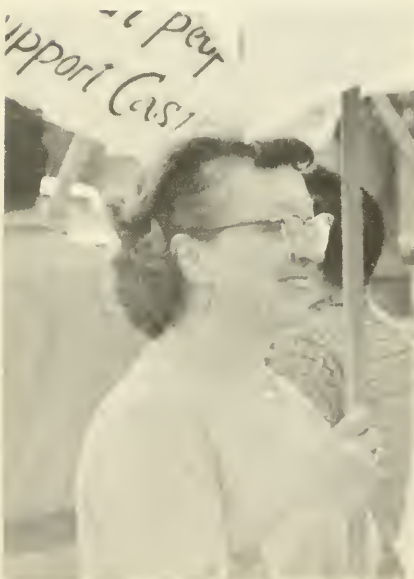
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Celeste Strack

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